“MIGRATION OF PERSIANS TO INDIA DURING MUGHAL TIMES (1526-1707)”

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CERTIFICATE

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I further certify that this Thesis has not been submitted by me for award of any other degree/diploma of this or any other University.

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I certify that I have guided and supervised for the preparation and writing of the present Thesis entitled "MIGRATION OF PERSIANS TO INDIA DURING MUGHAL TIMES" (1526-1707) who worked on this subject in the Department of Studies and Research in History, University of Mysore, Mysore – 570 006.

This thesis has not been submitted previously for the award of Degree or Diploma of any University. In my opinion, it is satisfactorily prepared and may be accepted in fulfillment of the conditions prescribed by the University of Mysore.

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ABSTRACT

India and Iran have been neighbours and since ancient history share commonality in multi-dimensional aspects. Trade, culture, language, religion and administration are some of the areas which both India and Iran have exchanged over the years. The entry of Iranis in India dates back to 588 B.C. Since then various invaders have invaded India and annexed parts of India and built their empire. The most important effects of Persians in India was felt during Mughal reign in India during 1526 to 1707 A.D. This time evidenced invasion and migration of most of the Mughals and Iranis in India. They were Muslims and hence their migration changed India in various aspects as socially, culturally and religion blend of Muslim and Hindu culture reached its peak at this time. This study is hence conducted to study the effect or impact of migration of Persians to India during Mughal reign. This study attempted to assess the historical background of India and Iran which gave insight into the mutual connection India had with Iran and vice versa. As Iranis had migrated to India during Mughal reign, the reasons for migration were closely studied in order to understand their impact. Persians were believed to have brought in impacts in trade, business and religious sector in India. It was hence found that trade enhanced during Mughal period along with vast and incredible inclusions in the religious sector in India with advent of Islam, Muslim culture, Sufism, Qawwali, etc.

As Mughal Emperors settled in India, they had their own army and administration. The study assessed the organization of the army during the rule of Mughals in India during 1526 to 1707 A.D. During rule of Khilijis and Akbar the administration was found to be efficient and powerful. Mughals or Persians influenced India with cultural aspects too and it was found that Music, architecture, painting, Calligraphy and different forms of art were prominently at its pinnacle during the Mughal period. In order to study these factors, secondary sources were resorted to such as books, journals, publications, etc. The study found that the impact of migration of Persians to India has its effect even felt today.

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Persia and India are neighbours in Indian Sub-continrnt. Persia and India share an age old association in multidimensional areas. The timeline can be traced from prehistoric period to the arrival of medieval rulers and then the people who came to conquer wealth. However, on the whole India is ignorant of the genuine and valid contribution of Persians to the glory of India. The sub continent has shared a special relationship with Persia in the areas of literature, religion and arts. The association between Indian and Persian civilization exists since time worth remembering significiantly due to their geographyand ethnology.

Mughals were familiar with Persian language and culture for a long time in Transoxiana their homeland and also Central Asia. It appeared as though they were inspired by Persian language and culture even before their conquets of the Sub-continent. As an example it was seen that Babur a Mughal king spoke very fluent Persian and used Persian language as a private means of communication in India. [1]

Persian language was the official language at the time of establishment of Mughal Empire in India. Persian was used and adopted in all areas be it law or

[1] M. Abdul Ghani, *A History of Persian Language & Literature at the Mughal Court,* Vol.I, Lahore: Hijra International Publishers, 1983., p.56

religion or literature. The Mughals later carried with them the complete benefits of Persian arts and knowledge. [2]

Persia's cultural sphere of control commonly known as greater Persia was much larger in area and importance than the Persian political boundaries. It may be stated that Persian poets and authors, architects and artisans and scholars and scientists achieved much more than what the kings or generals could conquer.

The thousand year old Muslim rule in the sub-continent used Persian as the official language for all their communications. Persain was used as the common medium of instruction and communication in admistration and also as the foundatiom of cultural exchange. Even after the decline of the Mughal Empire, Persian was used as a language for private conversation among the elite and educated classes and was the basis of Indo-Muslin culture. Persian achievements developed into general cultural heritage in India. It is true that the most important achievements of Persia and Persian language like the Taj Mahal and Allama Iqbal were not in Iran. This led to a strong Persian cultural participation in India which served as the base for futher association. This led to the continuation of the exclusive commonwealth culture which was kown as the 'Persian Heritage'.

[2] James Mill, *The History of British India,* Vol.I, New Dehli: Atlantic Publishers & Distributors, Rpt. 1990., p.700.

Abul Fazl, the Dean of Mughal Chroniclers observed that during the second half of the 16th century A.D. "It is an old custom that powerful potentates should, for the sake of gathering spiritual and temporal blessings and for accomplishing spiritual and temporal objects, seek to associate with fortunate princes, and that if owing to a God-given destiny, a connection has already been established, they exert themselves to strengthen the pillars thereof and finish off the thread of their own fortune with this wondrous ornament."[3]

It is true that the Indian Muslim rulers were totally cut-off from the Islamic world. They only had intermittent contact with Abbasid Caliphs who were from Baghdad and Egypt. In the 16th Century AD the stablishment of the Mughal Empire broke the isolation and made the connection to the outside world. Abul Fazl was not the first Muslim historian to be [leased with the friendly and warm relationship among the esidting states. The reason for this was that the Indian Sub-continent was not ruled by a powerful and energetic ruling h6use unlike the Mughals. It was only during the Mughal period that peace, prosperity and growth was observed in India.This helped India gain prestige in the family of nations and thus increase influence in international affairs which led to foremost foreign potentates. Due to this new position of India both the Muslims and non-Muslims wanted to have political and diplomatic connections with Mughals. This was advantageous as the Mughals had ruled over Persia and central India. As a result the Mughals were very much aware of their noble predecessors and their friendly relationship with the neighbouring states. Also

[3] Abul Fazl, *Akbar Nama*, (Eng Tr.) H. Beveridge, Vol.II, Dehli: Rare Books, 1972., p.262

maintaining political and diplomatic relationships with the adjacent nations was the foremost interest of the Mughals. [4] The Mughals had a control over Afghanistan and their common borders with Safawid Persia and Uzbeks of Central Asia which helped the Mughals monitor the changes and developments of the areas under their control.[5]

Now it is a fact that Mughals were not efficient and capable to go on with or invo3ve with any other foreign power even in a friendly manner. This is represented by their interaction with Persia by means of four important facets of their foreign policy which was the outcome of their cultural relations between India and Persia. The 16th century AD was considered to be a century of great men and several different political events. This was a period of *'realignment of political forces'* across the globe from historical perspective. [6] This was considered as a period of religious tumult, cultural, economic and ideological reconsideration to a vast scale. During this period several new problems upsetting the social, political and economic institutions of the Muslims erupted. Several new adjustments were made to meet the new tensions, new moods, new needs and the new aspirations. This resulted in the rise of three great empires in the 16th century in the Muslim World. This demonstrated a closely knit, very active and coherent segment of the Muslim community in the world.

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[4] Naimur Rehman Farooqi, *Mughal-Ottoman Relations*, Dehli: Idarah-i- Adabiyat-i-Dehli, 1989., pp.2-3

[5] Major Ashe, *Personal Records of the Kandahar Campaign*, London: Strangeways and Sons, 1881., p.xxviii

[6] Khawandamir, *Qanun-i-Humayuni*, (Eng Tr.) Baini Prasad, Calcutta: The Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1940., p.36

Toynbee quotes that Babur was '*the most centrally placed and most intelligent observer among notable non-westerners'.*[7]

Babur is described as a Prince of distinguished lineage. The greater part of the Sub-continent, which his descendants ruled is by large known Mughal. But in reality, they had only a little Mughal blood in their veins.[8]

It is said that Babur's mother, Qutlugh Nigar Khanum, through whom he could mark out a link to Chaghatai Khan, who was Chingiz second son, by no means could be considered to be called as the successors of Mongol. The word Mughal which was considered to have the same meaning as Mongol was used in India to distinguish between the immigriants or the newly immigrated from local Muslims. This was also applicable to the Persians, the Turks ,the Arabs and the descendants of Chingiz Khan as well. Francois Bernier a French Traveller stated that *"by the late seventeenth century (A.D.) the term 'Mughal' was applied by Indians to any light-skinned Muslim of foreign descent, including Persians, Turks, Arabs, and even Uzbeks."*[9]

Several other European travelers have also wrongly interpreted the maning of the word Mongol and were of the opinion that it meant solely the descendants of Babur. The major opinion was to name this dynasty *Timurid* because Babur's father Umer Shaikh Mirza was the fourth direct descent from Timur

[7] A.J Toynbee, *Civilization on Trial*, New York: Oxford University Press, 1948., p.65.
[8] Muhammad Ziauddin, *"Mughal-Safawid Rivalries, A Case Study of Qandahar, During 1522 A.D to 1653 A.D"* (Unpublished M. Phil Thesis), Area Study Centre for Middle East and Arab Countries, University of Balochistan, Quetta: 1999., p. 33
[9] Bernier, Francois, *Travels in Mogul Empire A.D. 1656-1668,* (Eng Tr.) A. Constable, New Delhi: S. Chand & Company, 1968., p.48.

(Tamerlane). He was known by the name *Timur* by the Indians of that period and Transociana , *Babur's land of progenitors* in Arabic was called *'Mavara-un-Nahr'*[10]

'Mavara-un-Nahr' menas that which lies away from the river. This majorly comprises of the historical region presently known as Uzbekistan and some parts of Turkmenistan and Kazakhstan. During 15th century AD, Transoxiana was the centre of Timurid Empire was considered as the major centre of Muslim civilization during *European Middle Ages*. The cities of Bukhara and Samarqand were famous worldwide. [11]

Mughal Empire had the privilege of becoming the direct heir to the Mauryan and Gupta Empires. Several other states also wanted to be under the dominance of the sub-continent. The Mughal Empire was the last of the famous pre-modern Empires of India but was the most famous and the largets centralized states of the pre-modern world history.

The Mughals however were known for their strength, for the order which they imposed by surpassing the major pre-modern Indian polities because of their efficient and large area of their rule. By the end of the 16th century AD the Mughal Emperors attained the title of supremacy over 100 to 150 million

[10] . M.M Haider Dughlat, *Tarikh-i-Rashidi*, (Eng Tr.) N. Elias, London: Curzon Press Ltd., 1972., p.37

[11] Pir Moazzam Shah, *Tawarikh-i-Hafiz Rehmat Khani*, (Urdu Tr.) Khan Roshan Khan, Peshawar: Pashto Academy, University of Peshawar, 1976., p.272

population and land which covered the entire Indian Sub-continent an area of about 3.2 million square kilometers[12]

Safawid Persia and Ottoman Turkey, two rival early modern Islamic empires, far outstripped Mughal India in sheer size and resources. Mughal rule in India has an eminent history of 181 years during the period 1526-1707 A.D. This empire has a legend of six great and competent rulers from father toson and their achievements was considered par excellence. In the remaining half century of the empire that is from 1707-1857 AD there were another 11 great Mughals. Aurangzeb, was the last Mughal ruler to be give the eminent title of 'Shanenshah'[13] though there was a lot of internal turmoil.

It was very difficult for the Mughal- Persian boundaries to confirm certainty and fix the location of the meeting point of the Persian and Mughal empires. The midway between Gwadar and Karachi the town of Ormara was considered most suitable. Laurence Lochart quoted, *"The Persian-Mughal frontier, starting on debatable point on the coast, traversed, in a north-eastern direction, the country inhabited by wild and turbulent Baluchi tribesmen over whom neither Persia nor India could then exercise effective controle."*[14]

[12] John F. Richards, *The Mughal Empire,* New Delhi: Foundation Books, Rpt. 2002., p.1.
[13] Bamber Gascoigne, *The Great Mughals,* London: Jonathan Cape, Rpt. 1976., p.243. 23
[14] Laurence Lochart, The Fall of the Safavid Dynasty and the Afghan Occupation of Persia, Great Britain: Cambridge University Press, 1958.,p.2.

In those days, on the west of the Indian frontier the Persian provinces of Makran and Sejistan were present which represented the greater part of the modern Balochistan.[15]

Geographically, "Balochistan is bounded on the west by 520 miles long border by Iran" and "bordered by Afghanistan on the north by 720 miles border." Ulaiman chains separated India from Iran. On South-East River Helmand formed the real boundary betweenIndia and Safawid Persia.[16]

In historical Perspective of the Middle East of Persia and Persians, the country that was most backward and traditional was Iran (Persia) but at the same time it was the most innovative. The glorious events of the imperial rule of the past were always remembered by the Persians which helped them carry on the ancient heritage.[17]

Cyrus known asestablished Persia in 16th century BC, amalgamated with Persia. Under the vice-like grip of *Achaemenid Dynasty* (558-331 B.C.) and *Sassanids* (242-642 A.D.), Persia attained her glory.[18]

Political connections between India and Persia started in 512 B.C.[19] after the invasion of Punjab by Darius. The association of Darius' rule existed even

[15] Sir. Thomas Holdich, Gates of India, Quetta: Nisa Traders, Rpt. 1982., p.200.
[16] Iqbal Ahmed, (Lt. Col.), Balochistan, Its Strategic Importance, Karachi: Royal Book Company, 1992., p.1
[17] Banarsi Parasad Saksena, *History of Shah Jahan of Dehli*, Allahabad: Central Book Depot, 1962., p.225
[18] George Lenczowski, *The Middle East in World Affairs*, London: Cornell University Press, 1982., p.45

before the Vedic period though the actual political contacts were established much later between India and Persia. Persian civilsation was much older than both the Islamic and Christian civilization and was found to be the most unusual staying power. Islam had to pass through the Persian prism before it entered the non-Arab countries from Anatolia to Oxus and to Indus Valley. The Persian spirit and its influence was felt in and around Peshawar which was found to be much older than the Islamic influence which was brought by many kings and courts for more than a 1000 years. India experienced Persian culture due to the Persian frontier in the East.[20]

Persia was positioned as a land-bridge from East to West. The heritage of Persian civilization from olden days to the middle age is antique. Persia served as the major link from East to West. Persia is practically considered as great highways of world.[21]

It was observed that Persia had a wider boundary until the end of 17th century which became smaller as observed in the presnt day. The distance which was a million square miles was reduced to 628,000 sq. miles. This main difference

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[19] . Dr. Wahid Mirza, "Adabi Manzar", Tarikh-i-Adabiyat: Musalmanan-i-Pakistan-o-Hind (1000-1526 A.D), (Ed.) Prof. Allauddin Siddiqui, Punjab University, Lahore, Vol. III, Farsi Adab (I), Lahore: 1971., p.38

[20] Olaf Caroe, *The Pathans 550 B.C-A.D 1957,* Karachi: Oxford University Press, 1996., p.91

[21] Dr. Nazimuddin Ahmad, "Common Cultural Legacy of Iran and Pakistan", IRAN-PAKISTAN: A Common Culture, Articles Written By Twenty Six Pakistani Scholars, (Ed.) B.A Dar, Pak-Iran Persian Research Centre, Lahore: 1974., p.3.

between olden Persia and preent Persia was in the North-West and the East and Nort-East were other territories were added.[22]

After the decline of Sassanids in the first decade of the 16th century AD there were noteworthy changes were observed in Persia. *Safawid Dynasty* became the foremost National Empire to rule Persia. *Safawid Dynasty* got its name from a leading member of Safawia sect which was named after Shaikh Safi-ud-Din also known as *'Purity of Faith'* whose descent was traced from Musa Kazim, the the seventh Imam of Ithna Ashariyah (Twelver) Muslims.[23]

Safawids were found to be very unfriendly with other Sunni in the world as they wanted to set up an Ithna Ashariyah state and spread Ithna Ashariyah doctrines which was brought in by adjoining Sunni States.[24]

Persia was declared as Ithna Ashariyah state by Shah Ismail-I the fouder of Safawid dynasty. 8 Ithna Asharis which were from other parts of Islamic world mainly from Ottoman migrated towards Persia. As a result of this about forty thousand Ithna Ashariyah Muslims were murdered.[25]

Persian emigrants included Sunnis who feared the Persian Shahs and the disciplianary actions in the country. This was the result of the differences among the Ithna Asharis and Sunnis which caused traditional rivalry in the

[22] Laurence Lochart, Op. Cit. p.1
[23] Sir. Percy Sykes, A History of Persia, London: Oxford University Press, 1922., p.71
[24] I.H Qureshi, *A Short History of Pakistan*, Karachi: Karachi University Press, Rpt. 2000., p.436
[25] A.M Nasir, *Balochistan Main Perwan-e-Ali*, (Urdu), Karachi: Cozak Publishers, 1998., p.176.

Safawid and *Chaghatai dynasties.* Economic motives had a very little role in the peaceful and flourishing contains that existed in India.[26]

The rise of *Safawid dynasty in Persia* in the beginning of the 16th century AD was considered as the greatest and most important event in the Indian sub-continent with Persia as its immediate neighbor. [27]

Reign of Safawid dynasty in Persia along with re-establishment of the Persian Empire and Persian nationality after a period of eight and half centuries also marks the addition of Persia into the community of nations and the beginning of political relations. This is found to exist even today to a considerable.[28]

Shah Ismail-I was responsible for extending the Persian Empire which he did by conquering most of the smaller parts of Iraq, Azerbaijan , Fars and Khorasan. [29]

Persia had the previlage of experiencing power, glamour and consolidation in modern times during the entire Safawid period that lasted for almost 234 years from 1502-1736 AD. There were hardly any poets of local fame in the modern times eventhough arts flourished and theology was at its peak.[30]

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[26] Muhammad Ziauddin and Munir Ahmed Baloch, "Humayun in Exile", Research Journal: University of Balochistan, Vol.2 (1), Quetta: June,2004., p.108

[27] Muhammad Ziauddin and S.A Wahab Shah, *"Origin of the Safawid Empire of Persia",* MIDDLE EAST: Vol.VI, Journal of Area Study Centre for Middle East & Arab Countries, University of Balochistan, Quetta: 1998., p.30.

[28] Brown, G. Edward, *A Literary History of Persia, Vol.IV,* London: Cambridge University Press, Rpt. 1969., p.3

[29] William Erskine, A History of India under Baber, Karachi: Oxford University Press, 1974., p.6

[30] Brown, G. Edward, Vol.III, Op. cit. p.160.

It is interesting to note that the Japanese were known as '*the Anglo-Saxons of the East'* and Persians as '*the French of Asia'*. From this it can be clearly stated that the Persian influence had given French qualities to Indo-Muslim art and literature which included eloquence of expression, efficient and economical use of material and the orderly arrangement of things. The richness of heritage enriched from Inidan civilization was considered as the highest gift for Muslim art in the form of poetry, art painting or architecture. Though most of the monuments built during the medieval period in the Indian sub-continent was by Indians, Persians were found to contribute to the design the most. This was found in the most brilliant manifestation the Taj Mahal which was built in Mughal style during the reign of Shah Jahan (1628-58 AD) which reflects both the Indian and Persia tradition in perfect amalgamation.[31]

The impact of Persian influence in Indian Sub-continent on Mughal India is of great importance which needs to be considered and understood thoroughly. In Asia, Persia has major role to play in generating and dominating the Islamic culture.

Several poets, philosophers, painters, musicians and craftsmen exhibited their skills during the entire Mughal regime. The imprt of Persia culture to India was during the Mughal period which reflects the way Muslims in Asia professed their cultural landscape. This led to the formation of India, Persia and Central Asia as the land of Persio- Islamic civilization. But the actual fact was that the

[31] Sir. J.N Sarkar and S.K Saraswati, Glimpses of Mughal Architecture,Calcutta: Gossain & Company, 1953., pp.7-8

new Islamic civilization was a result of the conquest of Persia and Syria by the Arabs. This resulted in the immediate absorbtion of refined arts, philosophy and literature of Hellenistic culture into a general heritage. [32]

It is known that Persia and Central Asia made up the central and genesis part of Indian Civilization. As Persian ideas and Persian culture had wide spread in Indian Sub-continent and Afghanistan during medieval period most of the conquerors accepted the Persian culture in the areas they conquered.[33]

Kings like Babur and his ancestor Timur (Tamerlane) are the people behind the Turko-Mongol stock. Persian paintings, poetry, sciences, art and architecture have become synonymous with reign of Timur, who founded his dynasty in Central Asia. Mughal Dynasty of India which is the addition line of Timurid was totally Persianized and the Persian literature of India was far superior to that in Persia. During the Mughal Persian period poetry and paintings reached great heights.[34]

Mughals were given the title of '*Persianized Turks'* and had the responsibility of strengthening the Persian culture in Muslim India by means of enhancing arts, book production, artistic illustrations, architecture and literary work in Persian style. Thus the courts saw the entry of Persian artists and architects from various cities like Tabriz, Shiraz and others from the Iranian plateau. In

[32] Tariq Ali, *The Clash of Fundamentalisms Crusades, Jihads and Modernity,*London: Verso Books, 2003., p.33
[33] A. Walter and J.R Fairservis, The Roots of Ancient India, New York:Macmillan Company, 1971., p.380
[34] Richards C. Foltz, Mughal India and Central Asia, Karachi: Oxford University Press, 1998., p.2

fact we see that a specific variant of a broadly similar Turko-Persian tradition was followed by Ottomans, Safawids, and Mughal Empires as well. This was especially seen among the elite class. The elite class culture was wrapped up into by many of the other local cultures as well.

The similarity in the cultural styles was carried forward and adopted by poets, artisans, scholars, architects and jurists who had cordial relationship with the peers in the cities of Turko-Persian Islamic penetration spread from Delhi to Istanbul. [35]

As early as Greek times, India was viewed by the Mediterranean world as a '*land of miracles, wonders, and freaks'* from Greek times. Babur's saying about India that "Hindustan was a place of little charm, lack of beauty in people, social intercourse was not graceful, poetic talent was lacking, etiquette, nobility, or manliness was lacking. Arts had no harmony or symmetry. Good horse, meat, grapes, melon and fruits was missing. There was no ice, no cold water, no good food, or bread in the markets. There were no baths and no madrasas. There were no candles, torches, or candlesticks."[36]

Since Babur had previously enjoyed the luxury and beauty of Persian civilization like the spectacular gardens, the colleges, the marble places, the

[35] L. Robert Canfield, *Turko-Persia in Historical Perspective,* New York:Cambridge University Press, 1991., p.20.
[36] M. Zaheer-ud-din Babur, Tuzuk-i-Baburi, (Eng Tr). A.S Beveridge 'Memoirs of Babur,' London: Luzac & Company. 1969., pp.623-24

bazaars, the Mosques, the tombs of famous men, the baths and the hospitals, the paper mills, etc, he considered India better than other places in contrast.[37]

Babur could get back his patrimony of his ancestral kingdom – Ferghana for a short time with the help of Persians from Uzbeks of Central Asia. This established important connections between Babur and his successors. Babur who came from the borderland between the Persian Empire and horseman of the North was highly overwhelmed by the Persian culture and the military strength of the northern provinces. Humanyun son of Babur after his deafeat by Sher Shah Suri took shelter in Persia in the year 1540 AD. But in 1555 AD he conquered Qandahar and got back his dominion in India. In return to the Persian help from Shah Tehmasp 10000 Qizilblashes was provided which formed the Safawid Persian Army[38]

However Kandahar continued to remain as a cause of war between the two empires.[39]

It is seen that Persians were always ready to help the Mughals when ever the need arised. Sha Ismail and Shah Tahmasp had vouched to get back their lost domains. Shah Abbas had cordial relationship with Akbar and Jahangir and always immediately responded to the call for help got from Ithna Ashariya the states of Golconda and Bijapur in the Deccan plateau. He also represented their

[37] Michael Prawdin, The Builders of the Moghal Empire, London: C. Tinling and Company, 1963., p.37
[38] Ahmed Yadgar, Tarikh-e-Shahi, (Urdu Tr.) Syed Nazir Niazi, Lahore: Urdu Science Board, 1985., p.308
[39] Ludwig W. Adamec, Kandahar and South-Central Afghanistan, Austria: Akademische Druck-u-Verlagsanstalt, 1980., p.263

case in the court of Akbar. Mughals were known for their wealth and magnificence and they had the absolute power..[40]

Mughals wealth and magnificence was well-known and recognizable. People dreaded their lavishness. The various ceremonies held in the Mughal court which included music, superb paintings, poetry and other objects of the royal court were combined together to showcase distinguishing high culture of the interaction of Persian and Central Asia.Even after the decline of the Mughal kingdom, Mughal culture is still retained and the Mughal paintings, architecture and buildings like the Taj Mahal still represent the symbol of Indo-Persian cultural inheritance. One of the landmarks of Indian civilization is the Mughal way of life (which is a fusion of Indian, Mongol and Persian cultures). Their court ceremonies and etiquette was magnificient, impressive and full of pomp and show. This culture was continued as tradition and prosperity of Shah Jahan rule where the Mughal court has been depicted in a picturesque scene. Shah Jahn was a ruler who doned himself with jewwled robes gracefully worked with gold threads and seated himself on the famous Peacock throne. [41]

Cultural heritage of the Mughals is always regaled. It is rightly called as the cultural state. Their progressive outlook in terms of willing to listen to new ideas and trying them out made them distinct. Mughal court consisted of 12 poets, architects, craftsmen, painters, musicians, historians and calligraphists.

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[40] G.H.R Tillotson, *Mughal India,* London: Penguin Books, 1990., p.vii.

[41] S.M Jaffar, Some Cultural Aspects of Muslim Rule in India, Peshawar: S. Muhammad Sadiq Khan Publisher, 1950., p.20

The achievements of culture were highly praised even from those who were not in favour of Mughal achievements and their policies. A new period was started with efficient governance and patronage. On the whole, the Mughal Emperors had a set a good example which was followed by later rulers who recognized and rewarded the talent.[42]

Persians to a great extent had political, economical and scoietial infuemce on the Mughal Emperors. Though the Mughals migrated from Central Asia and the Turanis occupied high position in Mughal India. The Persians were in par with the Turanis in their roles in Mughal India and im many case the Persians over took the Turanis. For historians interested in Mughal history, having a detailed knowledge of the Persians is, therefore, indispensable. Thus it may be stated that the migrations of the Persians to India could not be overlooked and it remains a area of interest in Persian history. It thus becomes necessary to study the background of Persian emigration for the sensible admiration of current Persian society. Similarly, the effect of this migration on Mughal Indian Scociety and culture has to be thoroughly studied for evaluation of the achievements of Mughal Empire. It was found that the people who migrated from Persia had abundant opportunities and they occupied suitable high positions in Mughal India which resulted in high honours from both Mughal kings and Mughal nobles. A stay in India whether permanent or temporary provided sufficient fortunes to the elite Persian section which included writers

[42] I.H Qureshi, *The Administration of the Mughal Empire*, Karachi: The Director of Publications, University of Karachi, 1966., p.255

and administrative expertise. But the Safawid rulers contributed to the religious harassment and political sectarianism. [43]

Definition of the Terms: 'Persians' and 'Mughal Court'

Persians: *The historical region referred to as Persia, and which the Persians themselves used to call Iran had been "an independent kingdom extending from the Caspian Sea in the north to the Indian Ocean in the south, and from Afghanistan and Russian Turkestan (Turkistan) in the east to Mesopotamia, Kurdistan, and Armenia*"[44]

Iran and Persia can be interchangeably used in the same geographical area. The word Persia, which was formerly used by Greeks which was taken from the south-western part of the plateau region encompassing the province of Parsa or Pars (Persis to the Greeks and subsequently, to the Arabs, Fars). Parsa was the homeland of the Achaemenids, the Persian ruling house, and its name was commonly applied by the westerners to the whole of the empire.[45]

The Mughal Court was largely made up of the Persians and Turanis nobles, the so-called foreigners. "Turani was a term largely applied to any person coming from Central Asia, where the Turkish language was spoken."

Abolghasem Dadvar, author of '*Iranians in Mughal Politics and Society'* penned that Persians or Iranians were "largely the Persian speaking people

[43] Sir. Denison E. Ross, The Persians, London: Oxford at the Claridon Press, Rpt. 1931., p.19.
[44] Brian Dicks, The Ancient Persians, London: Newton Abbot, 1979., p.14.
[45] M. Ather Ali, *The Mughal Nobility Under Aurangzeb,* Dehli: Oxford University Press, 1997., p.18

from the country between Herat and Baghdad, i.e. the inhabitants of the whole of the present-day Iran and the Persian-speaking parts of modern Afghanistan and Iraq,"[46] This formed the Persianized Turkmen who came from Iran.[47]

The major task was defining and fixing the Persian territory from the Safawids' boundary. The Khurasan boundary in the East and Azerbaijan in the West were never fixed and their boundaries changed several times. Hence, in the present study, the under defined constraints have been considered to identify the Persians as the people who came to India during the Mughal rule.

> 1. North (Mazandaran and Gilan provinces). 14 2. West and North-West (Azerbaijan-i-Sharqi, Azerbaijan-i-Gharbi, Ardabil, Kurdistan, Hamadan, Kermanshah, Lorestan and Ilam provinces). 3. South-West (Chahar Mahal Bakhtiyari, Kohkiluyeh va Buyer Ahmad and Khuzestan). 4. Central plateau (Markazi, Qazwin, Zanjan, Semnan, Qom, Tehran, Esfahan, Yazd and Kerman). 5. South (Fars, Bushehr and Hormuzgan). 6. East and North-East (Herat and Qandahar as a part of Khurasan). 7. South-East (Seistan va Balochistan).[48]
>
> 2. The official residence of a King or Queen, and all his or her advisers, officials or family etc in history, is mentioned as court or darbar. It is the central point of the entire jurisdiction of a particular kingdom. This was the same in the Mughal court as well. It was the symbol of presenting

[46] . Abolghasem Dadvar, Iranians in Mughal Politics and Society (1606-1658), New Delhi: Gyan Publishing House, 2000., p.21
47 Richards C. Foltz, Op. Cit. p.5
[48] Abolghasem Dadvar, Op. Cit. p.24

the place of sovereignty of its whole relevant dynasty. In the present world, the White House, Buckingham Palace and The Moscow Kremlin are the emblems of the executive headquarters and represent whole America, Great Britain and Russian Federation respectively. Therefore, the term 'Mughal Court' contained in the research title of this thesis, is being used to illustrate a general sense of 'Mughal India'.

Scope of the Study:

The present study covered a huge period from 1526 -1707 A.D. The year 1526 A.D. is of great importance as it was the beginning of the Mughal Empire in India. The year 1707 A.D. marked the end of the powerful rule of the Mughal in India with the death of Aurangzeb Alamgir the last powerful Mughal ruler. Soon after the establishment of Mughal Empire in India, in the year 1540 A.D. Humayun son of Babur was defeated by Sher Shah Suri. Thus Suri Empire was established in India until 1555 A.D. after which Humayun reconquered Sikandar Shah Suri the successor of Sher Shah Suri. The Suri regime which lasted for 16 years has been excluded from this study. The relevant experiences of Humayun during his exile period in Persia have however been taken in this study. The period ofthis study considers a span of 181 years of Mughal rule in India.

A large number of poets, artisans, scholars and people with varied skills from Safawid Persia found their entry into Mughal India. The support given to Persians by Iran led to the migration of several great Persian Scholars to India.

The expansion of the Mughal Empire saw a stream of talented Persians in the Mughal Empire which led to continuous Indo-Persian relationship and the role of Persians at the Mughal court and Mughal India was varied. This study mainly considered the role of Persians in politics, administration, religion, language and literature, culture and society, and fine arts etc.

Mughal Empire was the largest centralized state in pre-modern world history during the 16th and 17th century A.D. Mughal Empire was a dynamic, centralized and many-sided organization. Throughout the Mughal rule a large number of scientists, literary and cultural workers, scholars, political figures and artisans from adjacent countries or other areas of the world migrated to India. Most of the migrants found a place in the Mughal courts. Each has a vital role to play in the Mughal Empire in India.

It may be stated that the Persians undoubtedly had a major role. During this period '*Persian'* was made the official language of the Mughal courts. The Mughal Emperors were generous to the Persian poets and scholars which was followed by other ministers and nobles. As an example, it was seen that the famous rulers Akbar, Jahangir and Shah Jahan organized special gatherings of Persian scholars at their courts. Families of the Persian scholars were also given opportunity to exhibit their talents at various occasions. The Persian scholars and their families because of their multiple talent were able to compete with their contemporaries and thus were able to prove themselves. They were famous for their skills in fine-arts, management and administrative talents.

Need for study

Mughal rule in India was evidenced during 1526 A.D when Babur invaded India and 1707 A.D. when Mughal rule in India started to decline. There were many developments that happened during this period in terms of social, business, religion, military, administration and cultural aspects. Those Mughals who invaded India brought many developments and advancements while they ruled in India. Also, various other developments were brought in by those Persians who migrated in India during Mughal rule. The migrants served at high positions in Mughal courts and new dimensions were given to social, business, religion, military, administration and cultural aspects. There were several reasons which made Persians migrate from Iran to India. A need was felt to understand the whole process of migration along with reasons and those migrants who had an impact on Mughal India and its development. Hence, there was a need for this study to be conducted.

Significance of the study

Since India was ruled by Mughals from 16th to 18th century, many developments took place during this time. Many developments with respect to military and administration during different Mughal kings happened which strengthened the army at the centre and made the administration stronger. India during Mughal rule embraced Islam and learnt from their culture. Sufism and Qawwali was prominent at that time which broadened the thoughts regarding different cultures. Arts like painting, book binding, calligraphy, etc were

embraced by Indians through the Persians. Reasons as to why Persians migrated to India became clear and their impact on development of India gave clarity regarding a strong Indo-Persian culture.

This historical study significantly explores the facts related to the role of Persians in the Mughal Courts. It was evident that the Persians enriched Mughal culture, strengthened the bases of the Mughal states and also added new look to Mughal India. The key justification of this in-depth study is probably a revolutionary effort to prepare a genuine representation of almost an overall role of the Persians in diverse aspects of Mughal rule in the past which would also be quite beneficial in bilateral and mutual negotiations for future development in India's and Persia's relationship with Iran in view of specific colossal historical, cultural and regional bonds among them in multifarious aspects.

Research Questions

The following research questions have been considered by the study:

(i) Did Iran and India have good relations during the Mughal rule (1526-1707 A.D.)?

(ii) What were the factors that led the migration of Persians into India during 1526-1707 A.D.?

(iii) What role did migrated Persians play in Social, Political and Cultural aspects during Mughal rule in 1526 A.D.?

(iv) What was the role and impact of Persians in religious sector during Mughal rule in 1526-1707 A.D.?

Objectives of the Study

This study explores into an overall view of the history of 'Migration of Persians in Mughal India.' The study has considers the following objectives:

(i) Study the history of relationship between Iran and India.

(ii) Explore the major factors that led to the migration of Persian immigrants during the Mughal regime.

(iii) Determine those Iranians who migrated to India from Iran during the Mughal rule and their role at the Mughal Courts and in Mughal India.

(iv) Study the role of migrants in view of Social, Political and Cultural aspects during Mughal Dynasty in 1526 A.D.

(v) Study the role of migration in religious sector with special focus on Sufism.

(vi) Analyze the ultimate consequences and impact of the Persians' role during the specific period of this historical study.

Research Methodology

This research, perhaps the first of its kind, aims to be complete and systematically researched with a careful analysis of the descriptive facts and is being attempted intelligibly. Hence in this study, 'Descriptive' and 'Analytical' methods are used to establish an over-all study of '*Migration of Persians in Mughal India along during a 1526-1707 A.D.'* The replication of well-known facts has been avoided to a possible extent; but for the sake of continuity of the narration insome places, it was thought essential essential to refer to them, which has been done with briefness.

Descriptive research along with an interpretive approach was used to find out the root cause of Iranian migration to Indian sub-continent. The information for the study was gathered from secondary sources such as History fereshteh by Mohammad Ghasem Hindu Shah: *Akbarnama* buy abu-al-Fazl Alami, History of Alfi by Ghazi Ahmad Tatavi and Shahenshah: The Life of Aurangzeb by N.S. Inamdar. The history of relations between Iran and India were understood by books written by Riaz-Al-Islam and articles, Journals and research papers written by other noteworthy authors.

Limitations of the Study

The study was limited to the Mughal reign (1526-1707 A.D.). The time of study for about 181 years pertaining to migration of Persians into India and their impact and influence on the development of the country was a tedious task. Studying the impact of elite and noteworthy migrants and their

contributions in the Mughal Courts was difficult due to the time constraints. Studying all the developments during a span of 181 years was not easy. Key information regarding some migrants was not found in detail as they were not recorded or were not preserved in the readable form in the historical resources referred for the study.

Chapterization

This study was divided into seven chapters. Each chapter depicted a particular part of the study and was explicitly focused the role of Persians during Mughal regime, their migration and reasons for migration.

Chapter-I This chapter in brief described the introduction and importance of the relevant topic. In this connection, a brief introduction was made to point up the impact brought by Mughals and Persians in historical perspective along with the significance of Indo-Persian culture's legacy in Mughal India. Role of Persians in Economy, trade, business, religion, cultural aspects, military and administration was briefly stated. This chapter also defined the overall subjective scope of the research study along with its sequential bounding of the role of Persians at the Mughal Court. Moreover, objectives and research procedure was also mentioned to distinguish the relevant topic of this study in a detailed manner.

Chapter-II This chapter covered the historical background of Persians role on Sub-continent from ancient times up to the decline of Sultanate of Delhi or the establishment of Mughal Empire in India. This chapter assisted in illuminating

the topic and focusing it towards the impact of Persians in the earlier period of Indian dynasties and as well as in Indian Sub-continent; thus, it also enhanced the worth of their role in Mughal India as a continuation of their past functioning.

Chapter-III – This chapter studied the migration of elite Persian groups to India. The reasons for the said migration were understood and the impact of those groups during that period of Mughal rule was elucidated. It was understood by this chapter that there was a pattern followed by Persians during their migration. Under Babur and during the first phase of Humayun's reign the court had a Central Asia complexion. After Humayun's return from Persia the Persian influx began. Bayram Khan, belonging to the Turkish culture believed in Shia predilections which represented an amalgam of the two cultural streams. Under Akbar, there was an incursion of rationalist intellectuals that avoided and rose above inhibiting orthodoxy of Abdullah Khan Uzbek in Transoxiana, and that of Persian poets who moved from Iran where there was lack of patronage by the Safavids was diverting the course of the main stream of Persian poetry from its own soil to hospitable India. The reign of Shah Jahan marked the turning point in the rivalry between Irani and Turani factions at the Mughal court. During the reign of Aurangzeb, the Turani party gained definite ascendancy. Reasons for migration were considered to be Political Turbulence, Persecution, Commerce, Employment and religious motives.

Chapter-IV This chapter covered the role of Persians in serving economy, business, trade and religion sector mainly pertaining to Sufism in Mughal

India, which was itemized from Babur to Aurangzeb in four phases. Mughals were normally lenient Sunnis except Aurangzeb Alamgir who was supposed as a stout Sunni, at the other hand majority of the immigrated Persians were Ithna Asharis. The leniency of Mughals towards Ithna Asharis was a sharp contrast to the other Sunni powers of contemporary era. To narrate this relevant subtopic the important event like the establishment of Safawid Dynasty in Persia along with the Safawid Order and its propaganda was highlighted to show the basic difference and pandemonium contrast of religious ideology among the Ithna Ashari Persians and Sunni Muslims nobility at the Mughal Court. Moreover, a brief description of the role of some Mystical or Sufi Orders in Mughal India was analyzed as these Orders were arrived Indian Sub-continent via Persia. Thus, an obvious explanation was found in the peculiar Mughal Indian religious culture that also affected the political scenario of Mughal jurisdiction.

Chapter V – This chapter highlighted the particular roles of Persians in Mughal politics and administration as the Persians comprised one of the most important groups of nobility at the Mughal Court and were performing a vital role in Mughal India. Persians not only occupied high offices but their presence was marked at almost all levels of Mughal politics and administration. It was worth of noticing that almost all of Jahangir's and Shah Jahan's important ministers were Persians. The important segments like politics and administration incessantly plays an important role in any government,

therefore, the chapter lime-lighted this important part by focusing Mughal government under the domination of Persian nobility.

Chapter-VI This chapter discussed the contribution of Persian scholars and literary personalities of various fields both in Persian literature and poetry, during Mughal India. Although, Mughals were Turks by race and their mother tongue was Turkish, but due to their sharp liking towards Persian language and culture they were indeed great admirer of Persian language and literature since their arrival from Central Asia. Therefore, the Mughal Emperors generously patronized these Persian poets and scholars from Persia. A very large number of prominent Persian poets, like Urfi, Naziri, Talib and Kalim permanently migrated to the Indo-Pak Subcontinent, and at time level of Persian literature was higher in Mughal India than in contemporary Safawid Persia. This chapter focused the major modifications which glorified Mughal regime as result of Persians' influence at the Mughal Court and as well as in Mughal India in the field of fine-arts i.e. architecture, calligraphy, paintings, music and other diverse skills. Mughal Emperors and Nobles proved themselves as great patronage of arts, thus these craftsmen paved the way to the exaltation and magnificence of Mughal regime in compare with other contemporary dynasties.

Chapter-VII It represented the concluding analysis and substance of the whole time debate of this dissertation. There were strong cultural, political and religious bonds between Persia and Central Asia. Hence, with the arrival of Mughals from Central Asia, in spite of a low profile of sporadic diplomatic relations with Persia, the cultural interaction continued uninterruptedly. Its

conclusive findings exemplified the significance of Persians' impact at the Mughal Court with a view to understand their worthy participation in most of the essential fragments of Mughal life. This chapter also showed the special attention and diligent patronage of Mughal Emperors towards Persians and Persianate culture which really strengthened in Indian Sub-continent.

CHAPTER 2

Persians' impact on the Indian Sub-continent during Ancient times until the start of Mughal Empire in 1526 A.D. – Historical Background

Intellectuals not familiar with the historical position of the Persians in Indian Sub-continent are unable to differentiate their responsibility in Mughal India. This chapter is divided into two important parts. At the beginning, a concise study of the role of Persians is discussed in order to highlight the impact of Persians on Indian Sub-continent during the prehistoric rule. Then a similar study is carried out on the arrival of Islam in India to the founding of the Mughal dynasty in 1526 A.D. The present chapter provides an insight on the overall role of Persians and thus provides a linkage between the old Indo-Persian association and their later connections during the Mughal rule.

From the remote past India and Persia were linked partly by a common ruling dynasty and partly by routes of trade and navigation which served as a common ground for cultural activities and contacts. Having its origin with a mutual geographical background, these activities as a result impacted the total compass and width of Indo-Persian cultural and social correspondence.[49] Currently, Pakistan today inheres at the south-eastern edge of the present day boundary of Iran and is divided into two distinct physiographic regions: firstly, the hilly region of Balochistan on the west and north-west which constitutes one-third of the total area of Pakistan, and secondly, vast plain of the Indus

[49] Sushma Gupta, Pakistan as a Factor in Indo-Iranian Relations 1947-78, New Delhi: S. Chand & Company (Pvt.) Ltd., 1988., p.3.

river system on the east. Among these sharply defined regions, "Balochistan is geographically an eastern extension of the Iranian plateau. This eastern edge of the Pakistani-Iranian borderland is sharply defined by the Sulaiman and Kirthar mountain ranges respectively of the northern and southern Balochistan. The central Makran range of southern Balochistan runs parallel to the southern shoreline of both Iran and Pakistan."[50] Indian Subcontinent is surrounded by sea on three sides and by the Himalayas in the north, is geographically inaccessible being vulnerable only from the north-west direction. All foreign invasions, therefore, including the first Aryans invasion, necessarily out of sheer geographic compulsion, came through the north-west direction. The ancient invaders including the Greeks, the Kushans, the Sakas (Scythians), and the Huns, had Iran as an obstruent for the purpose of attacking on their way to India. Most of the times, Persian soldiers accompanied these invaders. Therefore, history has evidenced that Persia and North-western India were always linked to one another. Hence right from the very ancient times India, like Persia, came to have many foreign elements in its culture. "India and Iran (Persia) have had very close relations for the last 3,000 years of their history (ignoring prehistory). Both had a reciprocal flow of scientific and cultural exchanges. Persia was strategically placed in such a way that all caravans

[50] Rafique Mughal, "Cultural Links between Pakistan and Iran during the PreHistorical Period 5000-1000 B.C", IRAN-PAKISTAN: A Common Culture, Articles Written By Twenty Six Pakistani Scholars, (Ed.) B.A Dar, Pak-Iran Persian Research Centre, Lahore: 1974., p.33.

starting from Central Asia or India to the Mediterranean had to pass through the Iranian high plateau."[51]

It is accepted that occasionally during 1500-1000 B.C., gathering of Aryans from Central Asia had moved to Persia going through regions of Afghanistan and settled at Gilan, which at present is situated at the north-western side of Persia. These Aryans step by step spread in the present prolific territories of Tehran, Isfahan and Shiraz, the central and western pieces of Persia. A while later, they thrived well there and involved Persian Land, until the foundation of Median Empire presumably in 715 B.C. by Deioces.[52] Media was the most antiquated realm of north-western Persia, with its capital city at Ecbatana (present day Hamadan), by and large comparing to the modern locales of Azerbaijan, Kurdistan, and the pieces of Kermanshah. Persia and India have seen social contacts even before the approach of Vedic period (1500 B.C. to 500 B.C.) in India. Indo-Aryans and Indo-Iranians were the two parts of the basic Indo-European stock. They, hence, had comparative culture and comparative lifestyle. There is an extraordinary similitude in their religious convictions and traditions. They were together offering penances to the nature divine beings like the Asura or the Ahura. They were taking an interest in the Soma or Haoma drinking custom and were revering their precursors, the Pitaras or Pitras (fathers in Hinduism or in Vedas were the sacrosanct sacred

[51] Irshat Alam, "Technological Exchanges between India and Iran in Ancient and Medieval Times", A Shared Heritage: The Growth of Civilizations in India & Iran, (Ed.) Irfan Habib, Aligarh Historians Society, Tulika Books, New Delhi: 2002., p.77.
[52] Pir Moazzam Shah, Tawarikh-i-Hafiz Rehmat Khani, (Urdu Tr.) Khan Roshan Khan, Peshawar: Pashto Academy, Peshawar University, 1976., p.274.

writings of ancient India which were viewed as interminable like the gods) or the Fravashi (in ancient Persians called to the spirits of dead progenitors who have been appropriately covered with legitimate ceremonies).[53] Indeed, even before the Vedic age the pre-Aryan people groups in North West of India and Persia had same matriarchal culture. Both the people groups were venerating mother goddess and snake gods. Gomez, which means a service of incredible purification utilizing cows' urine was practiced by the Persians at that point and can be seen that the Hindus additionally hold respect to a similar practice in the present occasions.[54] The impact of Persian convictions and practices on Indian religious life, at that point and even today has been inconspicuous and charming.

An extensive stretch of stay was passed by the undivided Indo-Iranians who made these practices normal home and built up a culture called as the Indo-Iranian or Indo-Persian culture. In any case, in that society there were two gatherings of individuals admirers of Davia-gods and admirers of Asura-gods. The supporters of Davia religion were devotees to enthusiastic activity and meandering life, while the adherents of Asura religion were practicing agribusiness and cattle breeding. The opposition between these two groups steadily expanded and came about into the 'Great Split' after which individuals, who settled in India, built up the Vedic culture and individuals dwelling in Iran, pursued the Asura religion, grasping the changes achieved by Zoroaster,

[53] Nalinee M. Chapekar, Ancient India and Iran: A Study of their Cultural Contacts, Delhi: Ajanta Publications, 1982., p.1.
[54] Ibid. p.24.

the originator of Zoroastrianism, or Parsee-ism (by the name known in India). This, in no way, shape or form, mirrors the total nonappearance of Davia worshippers in Iran or of Asura admirers in India. The sun was additionally an powerful symbol in ancient Persian Zoroastrianism and its perspective on an energized light and dark universe; solar images were promptly related to authority and were fastened to Sassanian emblems of sovereignty, for example, crowns, staffs and regal daises. In the Islamic setting, this analogy of light and kingship was adjusted somewhat in order to distinguish the sun with God, or Allah. Accordingly, later on by the sixteenth century A.D., traditions like the Mughals and the Safawids built up a political philosophy which was critically a mix between the Islamized Sassanian representation of sun and majesty and the Ithna Ashariyah's (Twelver) hypothesis of perfect designation.[55]

The social history of Indians and Persians is delineated through two principle sources - the Rig Veda of the Indians and the Avesta of the Persians. The language of Rig Veda and Avesta are viewed as twins that started from Indo-European dialects. It is extremely noteworthy to observe that Sanskrit utilized before completely grasped the belief systems of Avesta.[56] This demonstrates a unified connection between the Indians and the Persians. The court and the organization of the Mauryas, the coins of the Kushans and the Guptas show hints of Persian impact. It is from scholarly, numismatic and archeological sources that some estimate can be made of the worth and profundity of the

[55] Mitchel, Colin Paul, Sir Thomas Roe and the Mughal Empire, Area Study Centre for Europe, Karachi University, Karachi: Colin Mitchell, 2000., p.120.
[56] Ibid. p.5.

social contacts between these two people groups. The round of chess which has its origin in India and in this way was begun in Persia being called 'Satranj' or 'Shatranj'. The Sanskrit name of it was 'Caturanga', which means the four limbed armed force. "Thus, the two people groups, Indians and Iranians, were isolated because of the Great Split there are signs in history that talks about their roots and the close proclivity between them. The close blood connection of these two people groups is reflected in all fields of life, such as religion, language, writing, arts and politics." [57]

Achaemenids

During the ancient times, contacts among Persia and the regions which currently is called Pakistan go to about 5000 years B.C. having extraordinary affinities in the social material found from different archeological sites of Pakistan and Iran. [58] During the period 2800 B.C. these contacts were strengthened which are very much verified by the regular artistic conventions particularly as perforated and painted ceramics of Balochistan and Iran.[59] It ought to be noticed that the connection between Indo-Pakistan and Persia were set up a lot sooner than the appearance of early historical period or the incorporation of parts of current day Pakistan in the Old Persian Empire. The connections between the two nations are profoundly established in antiquity. This was brought to perception when the Mohenjodaro, Harappa and different

[57] Ibid.
[58] Niaz Rasool, "Archaeological Evidence of the Achaemenids in Gandhara Region", IRAN-PAKISTAN: A Common Culture, Articles Written By Twenty Six Pakistani Scholars, (Ed.) B.A Dar, Pak-Iran Persian Research Centre, Lahore: 1974., p.119.
[59] F.A Khan, The Indus Valley and Early Iran, Karachi: Department of Archaeology and Museums, Pakistan, 1964., p.37.

locales of the notable Indus or Harappan civilization were found (2350-1750 B.C.) and the archeological discoveries show parallels with those from Persian influences. Topography and political occasions structure two of the fundamental components in this relationship, however it is basically comprised of cultural proclivity and the interaction of social powers complemented after the approach of Islam, by a typical religion, a typical language and a common sense of purpose. Persia, the place that is known for cultures and civilizations, delighted in amicable relations with the neighboring nations, which affected the indigenous cultures of these neighboring nations. Both Central Asia and Persia, combined with local custom, are the ingredients which make up the beginning of Indian civilization.[60] During long history, extending out to more than 2,500 years, Persia has consistently been saved her frontiers pretty much unaltered, and development after the World Wars without loss of region or status.[61]

Of all the lands of the Middle East, Iran is perhaps both the most conservative and at the same time the most innovative. It is always seen that Iran has preserved its ancient heritage significantly. However, it is hard for the Persians to forget the pride of their ancient imperial rule on the Achaemenian Empire. The ancient empire of Persia was established in sixth century B.C. by Cyrus of Achaemenids (558-331 B.C.) who unified Media with Persia, and gave the

[60] A. Walter, & J.R Fairservis, The Roots of Ancient India, New York: Macmillan Company, 1971., p.380.
[61] Sir. Denison E. Ross, The Persians, London: Oxford at the Claridon Press, Rpt. 1931., p.19.

pride to Persia during its ancient history.[62] Intimate contacts were witnessed between India and Persia in this early historical period when some of the northwestern regions of the Subcontinent; Sindh and Gandhara, formed part of the Achaemenian Empire. In sixth century B.C. Gandhara was listed as a satrapy (province) of the Achaemenian Empire. Ancient Gandhara (the modern Peshawer Valley), and ancient Persians enjoyed good relations among themselves.[63] Numerous examples showing deep roots of Achaemenid Persia in the north-western soil of Pakistan and association with Gandhara art, including architectural and sculptural elements which are obviously traceable to Persian origin. Silver coinage was struck on the Persian standard. The punch marked coins were introduced in the main cities of Gandhara at a later date that till today bears testimony to Persian influence that it belonged to the fifth century B.C. Persian labors in order to improve the magnificence of their lavish art patrons, immersed themselves in work and development of art.[64]

Regarding the religious influences from Persia, it may be noted that "the people of Taxila (Capital City of Gandhara), used to expose their dead to vultures, which was a distinctive feature of the Magian (a priestly caste in Zoroastrianism) way of life. This practice was one that had been introduced by

[62] George Lenczowski, The Middle East in World Affairs, London: Cornell University Press, 1982., p.45.
[63] Dr. Ihsan Ali, M. N Qazi and M. Zahir, "Persian Influence of the Ancient Gandhara: Some Examples from Peshawer", Pakistan-Iran Relations in Historical Perspective, (Ed.) Dr. Syed Minhaj ul Hassan & Sayyed Abdolhossain Raeisossadat, Cultural Center of the Islamic Republic of Iran, Peshawar, Peshawar: March-2004., p.9.
[64] J.F Blacker, The ABC of Indian Art, London: Stanley Paul & Company, 1922., p.14.

the Persian settlers in the fifth and fourth centuries B.C."[65] As it is practiced by the modern Parsees. It is, therefore, reasonable to infer that originally this Magian custom of disposing of their dead must have been introduced at Taxila by the Achaemenians. The Persians had hold of Gandhara up to 330 B.C., until to resist Alexander's invasion, Darius-III, the last Achaemenid king, requested for a supply of troops. Therefore, it should be understood that Alexander's invasion into the Indian Subcontinent was to avenge the fact that the people of Gandhara helped the Persians in waging war against Greeks and not merely to conquer lands or expand power. Due to their great love and admiration for each other, the people of Persia and Gandhara remained in active contact throughout in this historical era.[66] The only permanent result of Alexander's campaign besides the over through of the Achaemenid dynasty, that it opened up of communication linkage between Greece and Indian Subcontinent, but also paved the way for a robust and productive intercourse between Pakistan and Iran.

The influence of Persian and in specific, the Achaemenian culture is clearly seen in the Mauryan Court. During the Mauryan period, India shared close friendly relations with ancient Persia under the Achaemenids,[67] as the Persian kings were being served by the Indian troops and the Indian kings were being served by the Persian troops. It is said that it was because of the aid of Persian

[65] Mumtaz Hasan, Iran and Pakistan: The Story of Cultural Relationship Through the Ages, Karachi: Elite Publishers, 1971., pp.xvii-xviii
[66] Dr. Ihsan Ali, M. N Qazi and M. Zahir, Log. Cit.
[67] Dr. M.G Dikshit, History of Indian Glass, Bombay: University of Bombay, 1969., p.22.

army that Chandragupta enthroned himself and ran his kingdom.[68] The magnanimity of the Mauryan Court can be described in parallel lines with the Achaemenian Court. It is also significant that the Mauryan monarchs and its administrators along with the Persians followed same practices. The custom of solemnly washing the hair of the king on his birthday and making presents seems to be derived from Persia. Another custom mentioned as being derived from Persia is the punishment of half shaving a man's head for crime as sign of disgrace.[69]

Ashoka, the greatest of Indian rulers, is found to have liked and impacted by the Persian architecture. The idea of documenting royal orders and directions on permanent materials such as rocks as inspired by Achaemenian practice, due to which Ashoka had indebted himself to Achaemenian monarch Darius. Through this from Persia did the craftsmen of Ashoka learn how to give a lustrous polish to the stones; a technique of which numerous examples are given at Persipolis (capital of Achaemenian dynasty) and in other places of Persia. Mauryan art and architecture evidences aspects of Persian influence in all forms.[70] Ajanta Caves, today are one of the World's most treasured wonders that is located on India's western coast just 65-miles away from Aurangabad, and is celebrated for its wall paintings. These paintings depict colorful Buddhist legends and divinities with ancient Persian exuberance and

[68] Nalinee M. Chapekar, Op. Cit. p.39.
[69] Ibid. p.40.
[70] U.P Arora, "India, Greece and Iran, A Cultural Heritage", A Shared Heritage: The Growth of Civilizations in India & Iran, (Ed.) Irfan Habib, Aligarh Historians Society, Tulika Books, New Delhi: 2002., p.66.

vitality that is unsurpassed in Indian art. These caves are the symbol of the close contacts between Indians and Persians, as Chapekar says "it is possible that Persian artists were employed at the Indian court. The caves in the western coast bear the sign of close contacts with the Persians."[71] As far as Indian art is concerned, whether its designs were conceived by the Persians or Indian minds conceived the design and executed them. However, it is important that in the development of Indian art, Persian artists gave a large contribution.

Persian influence is irrefutable in a few elements of Mauryan dynasty such as currency minting or road construction. Indians have learnt the art of minting coins by stamping a mould on the molten metal, and its lion mark displayed traces of Achaemenian influence from the Persians as the coins of Darius Hystaspes, were depicted with him hunting a lion.[72] Gandhara art, flourished more under the leadership of great Kushans during the late of the first century to third century A.D. The two branches of the Indo-Iranian stock were separated after the Great Split. In the Vedic Times the actual contacts between these two peoples cannot be proved. But in the later period, however, the two communities continued to have deep social and cultural contacts with each other. The political contacts began in the sixth century B.C. with the conquest of Punjab and Sindh by the great Darius in 512 B.C. Indeed, from this year began the long and uninterrupted association between India and Persia.

[71] Nalinee M. Chapekar, Op. Cit., p.65.
[72] Ibid. p.43.

The fact that Cyrus acquired the borderland between Persia and present Pakistan is beyond doubt and this has helped him gain tributes and reverences from the king of this area. From Mesopotamia to Balochistan, Elam from southern Persia extended his annexation to the Achaemenian Empire during the reign (538-30 B.C.) of Cyrus. It is said that the some fractions of northern Punjab was a part of Darius's dominion during 522-486 B.C. According to Herodotus, "West Pakistan was counted as the twentieth satrapy of the Empire of Darius, to which it contributed one-third of its total revenue, 360 talents of gold dust, equivalent to a million Pounds Sterling."[73] During the rule of the Achaemenid dynasty, Persian influence had a significant influence on the people of West Pakistan. The archaeological excavations of Bhir Mound, Taxila, clearly indicate that the city owes its foundation to the Persian conqueror.[74] A new cultural pattern is usually associated with the grey-ware pottery tradition and related materials found in northern Iran and in Dir, located on the western border of Pakistan. The great civilization of Susa in Iran and of the Indus Valley in Pakistan gave way to this new cultural movement in which both countries shared equally. The strong administrative system of the Achaemenians had such an impact on the people of West Pakistan, that the satrapal system was preserved and practiced even after the Persian Empire was reigned over by the Salucids.

[73] Mumtaz Hasan, Iran and Pakistan: The Story of Cultural Relationship Through the Ages, Karachi: Elite Publishers, 1971., p.xvi.
[74] *Ibid.*

Script was yet another important legacy that the Achaemenians passed onto West Pakistan. The Achaemenians had adopted Aramaic speech and writing as a medium for official communication throughout their empire, and it was also used for writing Old Persian.[75] The same Aramaic alphabet was employed in Taxila and other regions of Gandhara. Ashokan inscriptions in Kabul and Qandahar also have been found in the Aramaic characters.[76] In those times, Seistan was also a critical station on the route from Kerman, in south-eastern Persia. Moreover, the place has always an air of mystery about it, and it shows legendary and historical accounts of Persia. In the sixth century B.C., Zoroaster, the founder of Persia's great faith, found refuge in Seistan with Vishtaspa, father of king Darius. Seistan, in many aspects was the centre for observing true Persian traditions while on the way to India. Rustam, the great folk hero of the Shahnama, is said to have taken birth in Seistan.[77]

India has had important and unbroken links with Persia in the fields of religions, literature, and arts. Persia, in view of her geographical and ethnological reasons, has had her full share in these fields.[78] These relations were generally of a peaceful nature and an invasion in force by either side during this period never occurred.[79] Trade relations between the Persia and

[75] Mahmad Jan, The Baloch Cultural Heritage, Karachi: Royal Book Company, 1982., p.16.
[76] Dr. M.G Dikshit, Op. Cit. p.22.
[77] A. Walter, & J. R Fairservis, Op. cit., p.118.
[78] Edward G. Brown, A Literary History of Persia, Vol.IV, London: Cambridge University Press, Rpt. 1969., p.3.
[79] Riaz-ul Islam, Indo-Persian Relations, Lahore: Iranian Culture Foundation, 1970., pp.xxi-xxii.

India existed before recorded history.[80] "In ancient times, Persia and Afghanistan were the main sources of gold."[81] Alexander's victorious campaign (327-25 B.C.) of India opened the gates to a whole epoch of cultural exchange. Consequently, after a long conflict, Greek and Persian cultures co-existed on the same terrain; and with India as the third side, a fascinating cultural triangle was created. Shortly after Alexander's retreat from the Indus Valley, Chandra Gupta Maurya rapidly extended the boundary of his North Indian Empire westward to include Arachosia (Afghanistan) and Gedrosia (Balochistan) which geographically belong to the Persian highland, adjoining the frontier of Persia to the north-western region of Pakistan. In the cultural field, the influence of Persia in the Mauryan dominion was more prominent.[82] With the destruction of Persepolis, the Achaemenian capital by Alexander, the diffused craftsmen and artists sought refuge at the Mauryan capital, Patliputra, where they started a new school of art having strong Persian affiliation. The bell-capital introduced in the Mauryan Empire is of Persepolitan type. These Persepolitan bell-capitals survived for a long time in the Subcontinent and then took a purely local form. "From Megasthenes account, it is clear that the Mauryan Emperors at Patliputra, influenced by the Persian monarch, lived in intensification of the Achaemenid Court. They were guarded by his armed

[80] I.H Qureshi, The Muslim Community of the Indo-Pakistan Subcontinent (610-1947), Karachi: Bureau of Composition, Compilation and Translation, University of Karachi, Rpt. 1999., p.1.

[81] Mansura Haider, Indo-Central Asian Relations: From Early Times to Medieval Period, New Delhi: Manohar Publishers, 2004., p.120.

[82] Dr. Nazimuddin Ahmad, "Common Cultural Legacy of Iran and Pakistan", IRAN-PAKISTAN: A Common Culture, Articles Written By Twenty Six Pakistani Scholars, (Ed.) B.A Dar, Pak-Iran Persian Research Centre, Lahore: 1974., p.16.

retainers, yet secluded from the public."[83] His embracing of the Persian customs and splendor, like Alexander and the Syrian Seleucids did, dawdled on as the greatest and most imposing empire known to the world at that time. Even the net-work of royal rods built by the Mauryas throughout their empire find parallel in Achaemenid Persia.[84]

Sassanids

Persia was represented by the Parthian and the Selucid dynasties after the downfall of the Achaemenid dynasty. The Sassanians won over the Parthians and constructed a regime that was progressively expanding in size as it responded to Rome and Byzantium toward the west and to the Kushans toward the east under the initiative of Ardashir-I. The Sassanides (242-642 A.D.) of Persia were exceptionally powerful and were unquestionably the genuine heirs of the Achaemenids, who expanded their domains by attaching adjoining segments of the neighboring nations. After the Mauryas, the Sunga dynasty (185-73 B.C.) gained power in India. It has been proposed that Pusyamitra Sunga, the originator of the Sunga dynasty may have been a Persian, a Mithra worshipper. The Sungas had great political connections with the Sassanids and were trailed by the Kushans. The Sassanian lord Hormezd-II (301-10 A.D.) was said to have hitched Kushan ruler's daughter. This line was supplanted with the great Guptas. In the Sassanian time frame, early Pak-Iranian social relations reached its pinnacle. The particular time frame was early fourth

[83] Ibid. p.17.
[84] Ibid. pp.17-18.

century A.D., when their counterpart in India was the Guptas.[85] The articles in bulk that have been found from the unearthings at Banbhore demonstrate that Indus valley was constrained by them. The impacts of the Sassanids reached out to Gujarat and the Rajputanas. In Rajput depictions it is easy to follow the geometric composition and clearing lines, the evenness and basic color which are attributes of the Persian custom. Around then, the coins were distributed in Gujarat and Sindh were replicated from the coins minted by the Sassanids.[86] Different objects demonstrating critical Persian character comprise of both glazed and unglazed pottery. The matchless quality of the Sassanians was at last demolished, together with a large portion of their monuments, by the nomadic groups of the White Huns from the south of Tarfan in eastern Turkestan, who cleared over Gandhara in the second from last quarter of fifth century A.D. conveying ruin and demolition any place they went, and from this catastrophe Gandhara never fully recuperated.[87] Under the standard of Khusrow Anushirwan (531-579 A.D.), Persian business reached its most noteworthy activity; he made an intrusion into the Indus Valley. It is clear in a couple of reports that King Khusrow Anushirwan had Barzoi sent to India, a Persian doctor with an intent to secure proficiency in the field of herbal medicine.[88]

[85] Sylvia Crowe & Sheila Haywood, The Gardens of Mughul India, London: Thames and Hudson, 1972., P.21.
[86] Mumtaz Hasan, Op. Cit. p.xx.
[87] *Ibid.*
[88] Nalinee M. Chapekar, Op. Cit. p.14.

There were likewise business relations between the two nations during those times. There were two courses of correspondences, the land course through Balochistan arriving at the northern piece of India like Sindh and Punjab, and the sea-route by means of Persian Gulf arriving at the western part; Kathiawar, Gujarat and Maharashtra. Consequently, Persian impact is increasingly visible in the western and northern parts of India instead of different parts of the province. The intercourse was essentially via land course, the one utilized by every single antiquated invaders to India. The political action in India was essentially controlled by the approach of the Central Asian individuals who were getting through this course by means of Persia. Before the intruders arrived at the Indian Sub-continent, they acclimatized the Persian civilization and culture in the first place to an extraordinary level, referencing progressive immigration of the Greeks, Sakas, Parthians and Kushanas as demonstrations of Persian influence."[89]

Daibal in Sindh with its renowned port city Bhambore, discovered cultural materials, especially coins and pottery, have proof of close business and social contacts with Persia. The collection of coins uncovered from the Bhambore site, encompassing a crude portrayal on the reverse of the Persian Fire Temple indicates influence of the Sassanids.[90] As far as Persian language is concerned Persian was essentially a dialect of Fars, and rose to an imperial language by the Sassanians. It assimilated numerous Median, Parthian, and different words,

[89] *Ibid*. p.36
[90] Mumtaz Hasan, Op. Cit. p.xxi.

and it was an official spoken language of the Sassanian Empire when the conquests of the Arab began. [91]

(A) Impact of Persians on the Indian Sub-continent from the advent of Islam up to the establishment of Mughal Empire in 1526 A.D.

Advent of Islam

The advent of Islam brought crucial changes in the Persian and Indian Sub-mainland's financial, political, and religious life. The new Islamic spirit of libertarianism swept over the spirits of men and displayed a challenge to every organization, including the government, the brotherhood and the social framework. The Mosques belongs legitimately to the individuals, in contrast to the Fire Temples, which, during the Achaemenian and Sassanian times, were under the control of rulers. Education turned into the right of everybody, rather than being a class benefit. Islam broke the obligations of race and geography and looked to make a society wherein each individual could understand his potentials without restriction. Islam demonstrated as a primary factor that chose the Persian consciousness, and communicated itself as a new tradition. The cultural connection among India and Persia had been restored with the advent of Islam. *"During the early period of Muslim conquest, the Turks and Afghans were the muscle; whereas the Persians supplied the brain of the Muslim ruling aristocracy of India."*[92]

[91] Richard N. Frye, The Golden Age of Persia, London: Weidenfeild and Nicolson, Rpt. 1977., p.172.
[92] Mohammad Yasin, A Social History of Islamic India 1605-1748, Lucknow: D.W Publishers, 1958., p.5.

Arabs

In Northern India, Muslims started their infringement during the Caliphate of Hazrat Umar (R.A.T.A.) by making their endeavors on the ports of the northern coast, and when Persia and Mekran had been conquered, they attacked Sindh. [93] The arrival of Islam in the Sub-mainland, which in certainty went before Sindh's conquest in 712 A.D. by Muhammad Bin Qasim, who was one of the most astounding general of history. It was the start of another period ever, which later established the framework of the rise of Pakistan and India as two separate States. The regular obligation of faith between Muslims in the Sub-mainland and in Persia additionally contributed to a proceeding with exchange of cultural impacts. The way that Muhammad Bin Qasim came to Sindh from Shiraz might just be turned into, his base camp, and where his military utilized various Persian fighters. The Arab rule in Sindh persisted till the eleventh century A.D. at the point when Mehmud of Ghazna vanquished it.

The political or regional extension of Islam developed at a fast pace and the rules of Islam, bearing the image of crescent, were spread with incredible passion by the Muslims under their religion. With the Persian conquest and the change of its capital to Baghdad, Persian thoughts and beliefs started to develop quickly into the position of the adherents of Islam, changing their spiritual standpoint into one material. Arabs after coming into close contact with the Persians took an exceptional fancy to the thoughts of the former.

[93] Tara Chand, Influence of Islam on Indian Culture, Allahabad: The Indian Press, 1936., p.44.

Remarking on this augment situation S.M Jaffar writes, *"The conquerors were literally conquered by the culture of the conquered people."*[94] They took such fancy to the Persian culture that they didn't stop to take in and choose Persian thoughts but acclimatized them in bulk in practically all organization and in each alcove and corner of their public activity. Politically, they embraced the standards of Persian government; the division and association of the different branches of state, including their names, the character of the Persian ruler, his slaves, his seraglio, his workers; state ceremonials and every other symbols of power, including his dress; the principles of military association and equipment, the strategies of war and even the titles and designations of the rank consistently detail of organization. On the social front, social delight and pastimes were additionally actualized. Principally obtained were Chase, Chess, Chaugan (Polo),drinking, music and melodies and even the spring celebration of Nauroz, which is likewise spelled as Noruz, or Noroz (nine-days), a New Year celebration which starts on March 21, and is related with Parsee-ism and Zoroastrianism. The celebration is as yet celebrated in numerous different nations, including Iraq, Iran, India, and Afghanistan. Persian culturally turned into their court language and practically all Persian thoughts, including Ta'bir (the study of translating dreams) was embraced.[95]

[94] S. M Jaffar, Some Cultural Aspects of Muslim Rule in India, Peshawar: S. Muhammad Sadiq Khan Publisher, 1950, p.7.
[95] *Ibid.*

Parsees (Zoroastrians) in India

The Parsees additionally called Parsis, whose name signifies 'Persians,' individual from a group of the supporters of Zoroastrianism in India. The Persian prophet Zoroaster or Zarathustra, who was conceived during 6th century B.C., encouraged monotheism and his adherents were asked to adore Ahura Mazda, the transcendent god.[96] In the seventh century A.D., Persian Parsees were severely impacted by the early Muslim Arab trespassers. In this emergency of their history, Parsees attempted their best to protect their religious personality by enhancing new organizations and gaining practical experience in new exercises.[97] Later, they needed to move to India to stay away from religious abuse by the local Persian Muslims. The exact date of the movement of Parsees is obscure. Parsees at first settled at Hormuz on the Persian Gulf, yet they cruised to India when they found that they will be persecuted. The migration in reality occurred as late as in the tenth century A.D. The earliest displaced refugees arrived in the territory of Div or Diew, a little island towards the south-west of the promontory of Kathiawar, Afterwards, they step by step discovered refuge primarily in Bombay (particularly north of Bombay), Gujarat, and in a couple of towns and towns and furthermore at Karachi (Pakistan) and Bangalore (Karnataka, India).[98] In spite of the fact that not being Hindus a well-characterized community was structured. During their stay in India, the Parsees gained information of the

[96] B.V Rao, World History, New Delhi: Sterling Publishers Pvt. Ltd., Rpt. 1994., p.42.
[97] A.J Toynbee, A Study of History, Edited by D.C Somervell, London: Oxford University Press, 1970., p.730.
[98] Dosabhoy Framjee, The Parsees: Their History, Manners, Customs and Religion, New Delhi: Asian Educational Services, Rpt. 2003., pp.7-8.

language, habits, religion and traditions of the Hindus. Yet, they remained clung to their antiquated Zoroastrian faith. They were not idolater, *"but worshiped one God, the Creator of the World, under the symbol of Fire, and such is also the present practice among their descendants in India."*[99]

In any case, after they were assaulted by Christian preachers for their dualism, they began focusing on the monotheistic part of their doctrine. They stayed in complete detachment and did not even appropriately connect with the Muslim groups in India, nor did they ever demonstrate disloyalty towards the Mughal's rule. Akbar as being a liberal Emperor kept up a library full of books on different subjects, and liked scholarly and philosophical discussions on the issues of religion among Christian, Muslim, Hindu, Zoroastrian and Jaini researchers. Besides, after his proclamation of his new religion Din-I-Illahi, which was a kind of blend of the considerable number of religions in India, he lit continual sacred flame in his royal palace at Agra for Parsees.[100] Jahangir's religion with the true faith in God was not as objective as that of his father Akbar; hence, *"he denied the practices or rites of the Hindus, and the Zoroastrians."* [101] Mir Abul Qasim Findarski was one of the Persian immigrants during the rule of Jahangir who is said to have assimilated

[99] *Ibid*. p.258.
[100] R.C Majumdar, H.C Raychaudhuri and Kalikinkar Datta, An Advanced History of India, Lahore: Famous Books, Rpt. 1992., p.461.
[101] *Ibid*. p.470.

Zoroastrian influences. He ventured out to India for contemplating asceticism, and turned into a recluse for seven years in Zoroastrian practices.[102]

They stayed for around 800 years as a little agricultural community. The conditions of Parsees changed fundamentally with the foundation of British trading posts at Surat in the mid-seventeenth century A.D. They were more open of European influence than the Hindus or Muslims and they built ways to trade. Bombay came under the control of the East India Company in 1668 A.D. Furthermore, on the grounds that religious toleration was forced later, the Parsees from Gujarat started to settle there. The extension of the city in the eighteenth century A.D. owed to a great extent to their industry and capacity as merchants. A significant textile industry of Bombay was developed especially by Parsee businessmen.[103]Under rule of the British, the Parsees, who earlier had been modest agriculturists, began to advance themselves through business, specially industry. They turned into a most prosperous and "modern" community, focused in Bombay. They had embraced the language (Gujarati) and the dress of their Hindu milieu. Traditions of the British like, the education of girls, abrogation of child marriage and British dress, was embraced later on. In their enterprises and charities, western practices were followed. The Parsees under British rule found jobs as per their talents; no longer repressed and kept down by the obliviousness of those in authority over them. They were empowered to give full extension to their forces, and another field had opened

[102] Abolghasem Dadvar, Iranians in Mughal Politics and Society (1606-1658), New Delhi: Gyan Publishing House, 2000., p.240.
[103] Hermann Kulke and Dietmar Rothermund, A History of India, Great Britain: Mackays of Chatham Ltd., 1986., p.265.

to them, in which they were urged to work, and from which they procured both benefit and respect.[104]

From the nineteenth century A.D. they had the option to help their less supported brethren in Iran, either through gifts or through mediation with the government. Dosabhoy Framjee in his book, The Parsees wrote that *"Our race in India enjoyed all the blessings of an enlightened and liberal government and our wish is that our brethren in the Persian soil may also be as happy and fortunate as ourselves."*[105] They turned into an affluent community by the end of nineteenth century A.D. and since 1850 A.D., they were effective in heavy industries, particularly those associated with railways and shipbuilding.

Ghaznavids

After his enthronement in 998 A.D., Mehmud of Ghazni established the framework of another empire in Sindh, the north-west boondocks of Punjab and Pakistan. The significant aim of his endeavors was upholding Islamic faith and captures the war ruins, however through his undertakings, Persian language or Farsi entered into India and came to turn into the primary scholarly and administrative language of Islam. In the court of Mehmud Ghaznavi, Persian ability in the fields of writing was concentrated. [106] Persian aristocratic and monarchic customs confirm the regulatory framework and the court life of the Ghaznavids. Notwithstanding, there is no uncertainty that

[104] Dosabhoy Framjee, Op. Cit. p.286.
[105] *Ibid*. p.51.
[106] The Cambridge Encyclopedia of India, Paksitan, Bangaladesh, Srilanka, (Ed.) Francis Robinson, New York: Cambridge University Press, 1989., p.413.

Persian turned into the official language when Mahmud of Ghazni and his successors from the north-west set foot on the Sub-mainland. It is noteworthy that albeit the vast majority of these rulers and invaders were of Turkish origin and their native language was Turkish, they received Persian as the language of bookkeeping, administration, culture and education.

Relations in the 11th century A.D. worked between the various parts of Persia, Afghanistan, Transoxiana, Punjab and Khorasan and Persian was the same language used in every one of these places. [107] In the early years of Islam, Persian impact was seen in the Indian Sub-landmass with the introduction of Islamic missionary exercises. The main benefactors of Persian poetry in the Sub-landmass were the Indian Ghaznavids. [108] At the point when the Ghaznavids remained in India, Persian endured as Indian Muslim's language of writing and of the court. [109] At the point when Ghaznavids established themselves in northern India, Lahore remained as a focal point for Persian language and writing, in Indian Sub-landmass, [110] and also turned into a significant focus, politically and culturally equivalent to Ghazna itself. Emblems of the Ghaznavid art was built by Mehmud and Masud of Ghazni in the regions of Pakistan being the towers of triumph indicating important data

[107] Mirza Mohammad Wahid, (Dr.), The life and Works of Amir Khusrau, The University of Panjab, Lahore: Istiqlal Press Under Supervision of National Book Foundation of Pakistan, Rpt. 1975., p.i.

[108] The Cambridge History of Iran, Vol.VI, London: Cambridge University Press, 1986., p.978. 64. A.M Nasir, Balochistan Mein Perwan-e-Ali, (Urdu), Karachi: Cozak Publishers, 1998., p.179.

[109] A.M Nasir, Balochistan Mein Perwan-e-Ali, (Urdu), Karachi: Cozak Publishers, 1998., p.179.

[110] Dr. Wahid Mirza, "Adabi Manzar", Tarikh-i-Adabiyat: Musalmanan-iPakistan-o-Hind (1000-1526 A.D), (Ed.) Prof. Allauddin Siddiqui, Punjab University, Lahore, Vol.III, Farsi Adab (I), Lahore: 1971., p.41.

in the advancement of Muslim architecture, that it was a continuation of Samanid convention. The feature of the cultural impact of the Ghaznavid Empire was the rise of Persian poetry in the Sub-landmass. The truth of the matter is that the Ghaznavids disparaged Persian language and writing, and gathered Persian essayists and artists in their courts including, Firdowsi, Farrukhi, Unsari, Asjadi, Albiruni and many other artists possessing lesser caliber. Explicitly, Mehmud Ghaznavi was a great patron of culture and art, along with whom scholars and poets came. The most popular poet of that time was Firdowsi, who wrote a great epic poem. When the Persian people were looking back to their Persian heritage, Firdowsi galvanized Persian nationalistic sentiments by invoking pre-Islamic heroic imagery.[111] Firdowsi was the pseudonym of Abu-ul-Qasem Mansur who was born in 935 A.D. at Tus (a place in Khorasan in Persia), and was died on the same place in 1026 A.D. His famous work renowned in history as the 'ShahNameh of Firdowsi', which is actually poem of collection of nearly 60,000 couplets, had fixed thereafter the standard for the Persian language more than any other single work.[112] The Turko-Persian culture of India prospered during this period. Abu Rehan al Biruni, worthy of mention was a Persian scholar and one of the greatest scientists of his times. He was indeed, one of the most learned men of his age and an outstanding intellectual figure, possessing a profound and original mind of encyclopedic scope. He was known for applying his skills in

[111] Robert L. Canfield, Turko-Persia in Historical Perspective, New York: Cambridge University Press, 1991., p.7.
[112] Sayed A. Lateef, An Out Line of the Cultural History of India, Hyderabad: Indo-Middle East Cultural Studies, 1958., p.181.

the fields of knowledge, excelling particularly in mathematics, astronomy, chronology, medicine, physics, and history. He went to India along with Mehmud Ghaznavi, and made a comprehensive study of Indian culture, and wrote 'Tarikh-al-Hind' (A History of India) after 1017 A.D., which is besides one of his other marvelous books. According to Richard Frye that "the contributions of al-Biruni and other Persians towards mathematical knowledge in the Muslim world, are of astonishing."[113]

Ghorids

The Ghaznavids lost their power Ghazni was possessed and the Ghorids, another Muslim dynasty had regurgitated from the Hindu-Kush Mountains, captured Lahore. Pressing further into the Sub-continent by their leader Shihab-ud-Din Muhammad Ghori, they made Delhi their capital in 1192 A.D. under Qutub-ud-Din Aibak, the first Sultan (ruler) of the Slave dynasty and as well as of Muslims in Indian Sub-continent. The Ghorids and the Delhi Sultans who succeeded them later on were also great patrons of Persian language. Thatta, Multan, Sehwan, Uchh, Lahore and Pakpattan were significant centers of learning during that time. A number of Persian inscriptions have faced disruption and shatter in many of these towns and have survived.[114] During their reign, the society was adorned by the influx of Islamic historians, scholars, musicians, architects, and other specialists of high Persianate culture that fled the devastations created by Mongol to the regions of Khurasan and

[113] Richard N. Frye, Op. Cit. p.162.
[114] Muhammad Ishtiaq Khan, "The Oldest Persian Inscription of Pakistan", IRAN-PAKISTAN: A Common Culture, Articles Written By Twenty Six Pakistani Scholars, (Ed.) B.A Dar, Pak-Iran Persian Research Centre, Lahore: 1974., p.451.

Transoxiana. Khurasan is also considered as a part of the Persian eastern provinces namely; Mashhad, Herat, Qandahar, Seistan and Merv.[115] Persia has once been annexed by Mongol horde as an eruotion led by Chingiz Khan in early thirteenth century A.D.,[116] where a rich civilization nearly 2,000 years old was found by the Mongols. After the sake of Baghdad by the Mongols in 1258 A.D. Delhi became the most important cultural center of the Muslims in east. Like Ghaznavids and Ghorids, the Delhi Sultans molded their life-styles after getting influenced by the Persian and Turkish upper classes. They dominated most of western and central Asia during that time. Literature and music were advocated by them but architecture became their most skilled feature; as their builders exhibited profuse architecture to build Mosques, palaces, and tombs unmatched in any other Islamic country. Under the Seljuks, Persia witnessed most creative periods in the history of her art. During the reigns of later Ghaznavids and the Ghorids, the Seljuk art tradition penetrated into the Sub-continent. The earliest Mosque in existence in the Sub-continent today is the Quwwat-ul-Islam at Lalkot, Delhi, which is a symbol of Seljuk tradition, and was begun in 1193 A.D. by Muhammad Ghori who combined all the best skills in his service that Persian civilization could ever produce.[117]

[115] Vladimir Minorsky, Tadhkirat Al-Muluk: A Manual of Safavid Administration, London: Messrs Luzac & Company, 1943., p.168.
[116] Maulana Minhaj-ud-din, Tabkhat-i-Nasiri, Vol.I, (Eng Tr.) Major H.G Raverty, Calcutta: The Asiatic Society, Rpt. 1995., p.230.
[117] James Mill, The History of British India, Vol.I, New Delhi: Atlantic Publishers & Distributors, Rpt. 1990., p.699.

Sultanate of Delhi

Persia and Persian culture facilitated commanding inscription for Indo-Islamic civilization after the advent of the Delhi Sultanate. The Sultanate of Delhi soon became important cultural and political centers with Persian as their court language,[118] therefore, Persian rapidly spread throughout the Sub-continent. In official documents some of the Arabic letters were also substituted by purely Persian characters.[119] During the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries A.D. it was a time of great cultural florescence in western and southern Asia. In spite of political fragmentation and much ethnic diversity in the region from the Mediterranean to the mouth of the Ganges there was, among the elite Muslim classes, a great deal of shared culture. During this time, Persia claimed itself as the most buoyant component of the Islamic acumen. This period showed brilliant instances of Persian literature and art. It is imperative that during this time, the Persian literature surpassed the Arabic literature in all forms because of many innovative themes and ideas of architecture and art were brought to the west from the east.[120] There were separate mohallas (community centers) assigned to the emigrants from every Islamic county during the reign of Iltutmish, whose capital was Delhi, the cosmopolitan Muslim city. Greater vitality and significance was shown by Persian culture than Arab or any other

[118] Khalid Anis Ahmed, "History of Mughal Painting with special emphasis on the Timurid and Safavid influences on the Early Mughal Miniature," Central Asia: History Politics and Culture, Proceedings of the International Conference on Central Asia, (Ed.) Riazul Islam, Kazi A. Kadir & Javed Husain, Institute of Central and West Asian Studies, B.C.C & T. Press, University of Karachi, Karachi: 1999., p.240.
[119] Roy M. L Chowdhury, (Dr.), The State & Religion in Mughal India, Calcutta: Indian Publicity Society, 1951., p.195.
[120] Robert L. Canfield, Op. Cit. p.14.

culture. An analysis of the literary and cultural contributions of Islam to medieval India on a racial basis would easily prove the Persian predominance throughout. This was due to the influx of the Persian middle class and intelligentsia to Indian Sub-continent since the beginning of the Muslim conquest. The majority of the Persians were Ithna Asharis, therefore, they had an advantage in India as the Muslims were fewer and the Ithna Ashari-Sunni bitterness was less keen in their new home.[121]

Nevertheless, the regional Muslim kings that succeeded the Delhi Sultans in the fifteenth century A.D. continued to patronize culture. The production of fine books and illustrations in Persian style was showcased, and large collections of books from many other parts of the Turko-Persian world were assembled, on Islamic, scientific and philosophical subjects, written in Arabic as well as in Persian. Robert L. *Canfield describing this scenario says: "As the predominant influences on Turko-Persian Islamic culture (in India) grew, their administrative cadres and their literati were Persian; cultural affairs were thus marked by characteristic pattern of language use: Persian was the language of state affairs and literature; Persian and Arabic the languages of scholarship; Arabic the language of adjudication; and Turkish the language of the military."*[122]

A large number of Persian architectural features are perceptible in Indian architecture since the establishment of the Delhi Sultanate in the twelfth

[121] Muhammad Yasin, Op. Cit. p.6.
[122] Robert L. Canfield, Op. Cit. p.18.

century A.D. The Muslims after establishing their power permanently in India were having no need to be tutored by their new subjects in the art of building; they themselves were already possessed of a highly developed architecture of their own as varied and magnificent as the contemporary architecture of Europe. The Muslims who conquered India were of Turkish and Persian blood, endowed with a remarkably good taste and a natural talent for building. The most magnificent monument of the early period of Saltanat-e-Delhi is the Quwwat-ul-Islam Mosque, at Delhi, its foundation was laid by Muhammad Ghori but was completed in 1197 A.D. by Qutub-ud-Din Aibak, to commemorate the capture of that place, he also erected a huge tower of victory there, the world famous Qutub Minar. Sultan Shamsuddun Iltutmish developed a façade or front to the Mosque, beside the completion of the construction work of Qutub Minar using the Persian Seljuqid tradition. Under the Khiljis (1282-1320 A.D.), the traditions of architectural Seljuq gained importance. The Alai Darwaza, a gateway built by Ala-ud-Din Khilji exhibits Seljuk influence. The other most important pieces of Persian influenced architecture are the Mausoleums of Sultan Bahauddin Zakaria (1262 A.D.) Shams-ud-Din Tabrizi (1267 A.D.) built by Ghiyas-ud-Din Balban and the Tomb of Rukn-i-Alam Multani built by Ghiyas-ud-Din Tughluq (1320-24 A.D.) are the unique examples.[123] Sindh and Multan were the first to fall into the hands of the Muslims. Of the many monuments, particularly Mosques, built there during the Arab rule. In the thirteenth and fourteenth century A.D., art from Persia

[123] Mumtaz Hasan, Op. Cit. pp.xxi-xxii.

was brought by Muslim artisans into India, for example; the art of glazed tiles originating in Persia was brought to India, mainly at Kashan, and these blue tiles from that place copied and used for the construction of earliest Mosques in India.[124] In Multan, the oldest monuments are the resting-place of Baha-ul-Haque built in 1262 A.D., the tomb of Shah Yousuf Gardezi built in 1152 A.D., the tomb of Shah Shams Tabrez, and the shrines of Rukn-i-Alam and Shadna Shahid. Artistic creations of Ghazni exhibit patronage to art and are Persian in form and character.[125]

The Bahmanid kingdom in Hyderabad Deccan (1347-1518 A.D.) and the Persians have had strong relations, and share a fine taste for architecture. The most noteworthy of the existing monuments at Gulbarga (the capital of Bahmanid kingdom), are Chand Minar at Daulatabad and the Madrasa of Mahmud Gawan at Bidar may be reckoned among the remaining edifices of importance. Haft Gumbad (seven domes), in Gulbarga, containing the tombs of Mujahid Shah, Daud Shah, Prince Sanjar, Ghiyas-ud-Din and his family and Feroz Shah and his family, is worth of mentioning. The style of architecture of these monuments is mostly Persian.[126]

Firoz Shah Tughluq was a great builder and built a number of cities, palaces, Mosques, forts, tombs, Madarsas (Islamic Educational Institutions), and embankments in Persian style. He was equally involved in works of public welfare. The oblong shaped Chhota Sone Ki Masjid (small golden Mosque)

[124] Dr. M.G Dikshit, Op. Cit. P.75
[125] S.M Jaffar, Op. Cit. pp.102-103.
[126] *Ibid.* p.106.

and the Bari Sone Ki Masjid (grand golden Mosque) at Gaur in east Pakistan now in Bengal, built during the reign of Ala-ud-Din Hussain Shah (1493-1519 A.D.) is a unique blend of Persian influence with indigenous elements.[127]

Indo-Persian literature was dominated by the fascinating personality of the mystic poet, Amir Khusrow (1253-1325 A.D.) who was a profile writer both in Persian and Hindi.[128] The activities of Amir Khusrow, who deservedly is called Totee-i-Hind (parrot of India), and is considered as the greatest among all ancient and modern poets. According to Barni, he was not only confined to literary sphere; he was a humorist, singer and dancer of a high order. He had mastery in instrumental music as well, he introduced Sitar (a musical instrument like Guitar) more correctly Seh-tar or three wires. He is also reputed to invent the Qawwali a unique mode of singing which was a judicious mixture of Indo-Persian models, which later gained a great popularity among the Indian Muslims.[129]

During the age of Salatin-i-Delhi, the tone and standard of Persian language were first set in India by the Tabkhat-i-Nasiri of Minhaj Abu Umar Usman Bin Siraj and Taj-ul-Massir of Sadr-ud-Din Muhammad bin Hassan Nizami. Zia-ud-Din Barani usually chose to adopt the ancient Persian traditions of writing dynastic history with his famous Tarikh-i-Firuzshahi.[130] Later on, the

[127] Mumtaz Hasan, Op. Cit. p.xxiii.
[128] Sayed A. Lateef, Op. Cit. p.183.
[129] *Ibid*. p.199.
[130] Dr. Humaira Arif Dasti, "Persian Influence on the Historiography of Mughal India," Pakistan-Iran Relations in Historical Perspective, (Ed.) Dr. Syed Minhaj ul Hassan & Sayyed Abdolhossain Raeisossadat, Cultural Center of the Islamic Republic of Iran, Peshawar: March-2004., p.101.

educational system of Sub-continent also established its foundation with Persian language and literature including the implementation of Dars-i-Nizami, a classical syllabus based rather more in Persian than Arabic. The Bostan of Sa'adi and the Gulistan, the Mathnavi of Rumi, the Diwan of Hafiz and the Shahnama of Firdausi are the most popular Persian classes of that time, were the pillars on which rested the magnificent mansion of Muslim education and culture in the Sub-continent.[131] The Indo-Persian literature of medieval India abounds in mathnavis (masnavis), diwans, kulliyat, biographies, local and general histories, commentaries of the Holy Quran, and in works on philosophy, metaphysics, theology, Sufism, lexicography, medicine, logic and ornate prose.[132] The coins of early Sultans of Delhi, besides having the general pattern of coinage of the Muslim world, started using legends in Persian. Muhammad Bin Tughluq (1325- 51 A.D.) having an eminent history of numismatics for his methods of 'forced currency' was regarded the first to use Persian folklore intensively on his coins to induce the people to accept the billon coins for gold value. In the same regime, Shahpur, who belonged to Khurasan was an eminent painter, who painted a lot of miniatures in Persian style, one of his model painting is still displayed in Calcutta Art Gallery.[133]

At the other hand, after the disastrous invasion of Mongols, in the 1200 A.D., migrated Turks and Mongolian tribes adopted the Persian customs and even language. In the 1300 A.D., a dynasty was founded by the Chingiz Khan's

[131] Mumtaz Hasan, Op. Cit. p.xxv.
[132] S.M Jaffar, Op. Cit. pp.162-63.
[133] Sayed A. Lateef, Op. Cit. p.199.

grandson Holagu Khan called as the Ilkhanids was influenced by Persia and most of its practices. However, in thirteenth century A.D., the Persians had immersed themselves in Islamic Sufism and devotion. Persian, which was not the native tongue either of the Turks or of the Mongols but only an acquired language had in the course of time, become so very popular among the Turkish and the Mongols races, during their stay in Central Asia, that it was freely used by the Princes of the house of Timur even in presence of their own native tongue, the Turki dialect. The period of Timur has been one of the most glorious epochs in history for the growth of Persian literature and the nursing of the best poetry.[134] Timurids were highly educated and patrons of learning and literature. However, after the conquest of Central Asia, when the Timurids came in close contact with Persian, they were much impressed by its beauty and richness. It seems that they liked Persian more and a time came when it replaced their own language which was Turkish.[135] The legacy of Timur provides an example of how solidly established the Persian type of Islamic civilization was in Asia by the fourteenth century A.D. although himself of Turko-Mangol stock. Like other most great military figures of Muslim Asia, he founded a dynasty which has become synonymous with Persian painting, science, and architecture. In the court of Sultan Hussain Baiqra, the last great Timurid ruler, painter Behzad and Shah Muzaffar, poet Jami, historians

[134] M. Abdul Ghani, A History of Persian Language & Literature at the Mughal Court, Vol.I, Lahore: Hijra International Publishers, 1983., p.44.
[135] Dr. Humaira Arif Dasti, Op. Cit. P.99.

Mirkhwand and Khwandamir, were of prime importance.[136] The schools of miniature painting at Tabriz, Shiraz, and Herat got its hold under the Timurids. Among the artists gathered at Herat was the most famous Behzad, whose dramatic, intense style was unequaled in Persian manuscript illustration. As in other field of learning, in Persia, the art of carpet making and book binding reached its zenith during the Timurid period in fourteenth and fifteenth centuries A.D. and its surviving specimens are among the finest ever produced. The Timurid workshops practiced leatherwork, wood and jade carving. In metal work, however, Timurid artistry never was able to surpass the earlier Iraqi schools. Persia played a significant role in the advancement of the art of Muslim calligraphy during this time. Timur's period has also been considered one of the most glorious reigns in history as it facilitated the growth of Persian poetry and literature.[137]

During the Lodhi dynasty (1451-1526 A.D.), the reign of Sikandar Lodhi is most important as being the chief period in which Hindi and Persian grew in intimate relationship with each other, so that their reciprocal influence led also to a distinction between the "Persian's Persian" and the "Indian's Persian." Sikandar Lodhi, on his accession to the throne in 1489 A.D. attempted to install those of his subjects who possessed the classical knowledge of Persian, in the responsible offices of the government. The consequence was that the Hindus and such of the native Muslims as whose mother-tongue was Hindi,

[136] Foltz, C. Richards, Mughal India and Central Asia, Karachi: Oxford University Press, 1998., p.2.
[137] M. Abdul Ghani, Op. Cit. pp.73-74.

began to introduce into their language words from Persian and Arabic. This was a turning point in the history of Persian literature in India.[138]

Choosing from all the Persian influences, the most compelling influence was of the 'Theory of Divine Right' on the Delhi Sultanate which is regarded as the most sententious feature of Persian monarchy. The approach of Divine Right of Kings contended how kings might come to power through a variety of means but a monarch's authority was still derived from God alone. It is noteworthy that during the rule of Muslims in India, the Muslim monarchs adopted and were given the title of 'Zill-i-illahi' (meaning shadow of God), or the incarnation of God upon earth. Ghyas-ud-Din Balban, the ruler of Slave dynasty in India, adopted a theory of kingship which was based on the same principle of divine right theory in the late thirteenth century A.D. India, an ancient country like Persia, offered a most favorable field for the cultivation of such ideas. Here the submissiveness of the people and the ancient traditions of the country furnished a most congenial atmosphere for the establishment of absolute monarchy. The Muslim Kings had before him the precedents of Persian monarchs and the examples of Indian rajas (feudal), to whom divine honors were paid accordingly by their subjects. The prerogatives they enjoyed included the royal titles, the khutba (public sermon), the sikka (coin) and certain other symbols of sovereignty to distinguish them from the rest of the people. The over acts of sovereignty, which proclaimed their accession to the throne, was the recitation of the khutba, the striking of coins in their names and

[138] *Ibid*. p.44.

the issuance of farmans (royal orders), under their own seals or signets. Among other symbols of sovereignty such as the taj (crown), darbar (court), takht (throne), naubat (royal band), bearing the emblems of 'fish and crescent' and alams (standards), no one could use them unless they were specially permitted by the kings. In fact, the Muslim Indian monarchs and statesmen had largely adopted the pre-Islamic Sassanian model of kingship.[139] These Achaemenian and Sassanian ideas of Kingship of ancient Persia, through the Arab conquest reached Baghdad, following which traveled into Ghaznin, as also into Europe and other parts of the world, and finally got their entry into India with the Muslim conquerors marching and most importantly, where these traditions were adopted and grew at a rapid pace. Therefore, S.M Jaffar says; "the Sultans of Delhi formulated their own laws, which was (were) based purely on Persian traditions and Indian usages, which were different from and even opposed to those of Islam but conductive to the State."[140]

Thus, the interplay of the Persians' role in Indian Sub-continent during the ancient and medieval times was particularly noticeable in the form of visually significant cultural objects such as miniatures, manuscripts, calligraphy, coinage, book binding, carpets, jewelry and pottery, etc.[141] India has a special relation with Persians, because the two peoples are members of the same stock, the 'IndoEuropean family.' The Persians came to India, stayed here and served

[139] Mitchel, Colin Paul, Op. Cit. p.113.
[140] S.M Jaffar, Op. Cit. pp.16-17.
[141] Tasweer Husain Hamidi, "Common Cultural Heritage of Pakistan and Iran in the National Museum of Pakistan", IRAN-PAKISTAN: A Common Culture, Articles Written By Twenty Six Pakistani Scholars, (Ed.) B.A Dar, Pak-Iran Persian Research Centre, Lahore: 1974., p.83.

the country in different ways. The literary and inscriptional evidence shows that the Persians in the ancient and medieval times were soldiers in the army of the Indian kings. They were donors of religious gifts and theologies, and richly contributed to both the ancient and medieval Indian life in various fields like religion, politics and arts. They became a part of Indian society and later on merged in that society, and finally turned into Indianised.[142]

[142] Nalinee M. Chapekar, Op. Cit., p.14.

CHAPTER 3

Reasons for Migration groups: Causes of Iranian travels and migrations to India

Iranians travelled to India in groups or as individuals. Sometimes specific factors motivated the members of a family to abandon their attachments in Iran and migrate to India.

The reasons which describe the arrival of Persian immigrants in Mughal India during the reign of various Mughal kings are as under: An important and note worthy reason for the relocation to India from Persia could have been that "these kings (Safawid Shahs), by reason of their political aims and strong antagonism to the Ottoman Empire, devoted the greater part of their energies to the propagation of the Shi'a doctrine and the encouragement of divine learning in its principles and laws.[143] In fact, Tamerlane's (Amir Timur) imperialism simply created a political and social vacuum in south-western Asia. The vacuum therefore it created subsequently drew the Ottomans and the Safawids into a concussion and combat which made the Persian society face death.[144] A great political instability in Persia was caused due to adverse hostility and untoward political aims. Furthermore, in pursuing the same political policy during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries leading nobles and men of pen were frequently executed and deprived of their posts. Consequently, in search

[143] Abolghasem Dadvar, *Iranians in Mughal Politics and Society* [*1606-1658*] (New Dehli: Cyan Publishing House, 2000), p.201.
[144] A.J. Toynbee, *A Study of History* (Ed.) D.C. Somervell (London: Oxford University Press, 1970), p.345.

of safety and a life without threats, people in large numbers migrated to India.[145]

Another factor that led to the migration of the Persian immigrants was the religious atmosphere that was turning unfavorable and there was total unrest in Safawid Persia. In this regard, Irfan Habib says; "the sectarian divide could not prevent the intellectual interchange between the scholars of India and Persia; and for this the generally tolerant policy of the Mughal Empire should get its credit which is due to them".[146] A large number of people who rejected to accept the *Ithna Ashariyah* Faith in Persia were forced and sent into exile. Some of the people who were exiled went to Central Asia and Turkey, but most of the lot came to India.[147]

It is noteworthy that Emperor Akbar under the whole Mughal Empire rule remained richer than any of its other contemporary kings that ruled in the seventeenth century. An achievement of this kind has not been achieved and had resulted in a major shift in the balance of world trade [148] which occurred particularly during the rule of the Mughals. Lack of proper patronage by the Safawid Persia was another important cause of the fortune seekers for better economic prospects in Mughal India.

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[145] Abolghasem Dadvar, p.137.
[146] Irfan Habib (ed.) "A Shared Heritage: The Growth of Civilizations in India and Iran", *Aligarh Historians Society* (New Delhi: Tulika Books, 2002).
[147] M. Abdul Ghani, *A History of Persian Language and Literature at the Mughal Court, Vol.11* (Lahore: Hijra International Publishers, 1983), pp.174-75.
[148] Roger M. Savory, *Iran under the Safavids* (London: Cambridge University Press, 1980), pp. 192-93.

There were also some Persian nobles who for some reasons incurred time to time the personal displeasure of Safawid monarchs, and therefore, they had no other way left them to escape Mughal India to salvage their lives.[149]

PATTERN OF IMMIGRATION OF IRANIANS AND TURANIS DURING MUGHALS

Under Mughals, Iranians and Turanis came to India from diverse regions of Iran and Turan, for instance Ispahan, Yazd, Kirman, Khurasan, Tehran, Gilan, Azberbaizan, Kordistan, Sistan in Iran and Balkh, Badakhshan, Herat, Ferghana, Samarqand etc in Turan. Regarding immigration, Richard Foltz in his paper, 'Central Asians In The Administration of Mughal India' writes, "The lure of India's proverbial riches and the Mughal reputation for generosity, together with the frequency of civil disorder within the Uzbek appendage system, were the main factors enticing military and administrative personnel to give up their lives in Central Asia and relocate to the south. Of course the Mughal Empire was full of fortune hunters and refugees of all origins, but the Mughals tended to receive defectors from their Uzbek and Safavid rivals with particularly open arms, and such figures often rose to great heights within the Mughal system.[150] A. Dadvar, in his book *Iranians in Mughal polity and society* further categorizes Irani immigrants coming to Mughal Empire in to two Categories:

[149] *Ibid*., p.205.
[150] Richard foltz, 'Central Asians in the Mughal Administration', *Journal of Asian History*, *Vol.31*. No.2 (1997), p.140.

"In the first, there were many Iranians coming directly from Iran in search of employment in administration, since they were forced to leave their own country due to growing political instability and Uzbek pressure. Quite a few of them belonged to the reputed and eminent families whose members had been in the service of Safavid rulers holding important positions, while some others were themselves in possession of high offices in Iran. In addition to these two groups, a number of important Iranian immigrants who had been serving in the Deccan kingdoms also joined the Mughal service during the period".[151]

Under Babur and during the principal period of Humayun's rule the court had a Central Asia appearance. After Humayun's arrival from Persia the Persian deluge started. Bayram Khan, having a place with the Turkish culture had confidence in Shia preferences which spoke to an amalgam of the two social streams. Under Akbar, there was an invasion of pragmatist educated people that maintained a strategic distance from and transcended hindering conventionality of Abdullah Khan Uzbek in Transoxiana, and that of Persian artists who moved from Iran where there was absence of support by the Safavids was occupying the course of the standard of Persian verse from its own dirt to neighborly India. The reign of Shah Jahan marks the defining moment in the contention among Irani and Turani groups at the Mughal court. During the rule of Aurangzeb, the Turani group increased positive power.

The reasons for migrating to India are classified below and reviewed further.

[151] Dr. Abolghasem Dadvar, *Iranians In Mughal Politics And Society 1606-1658*, Delhi, 1999, p.71.

Political Turbulence

A major factor behind the migration of Iranians to India was political turbulence in their home country. Reasons for such turbulence could be many. Internal revolt in some cases caused confusion and insecurity, and on the other hand, foreign invasions created insecurity among certain regions. The Iranians witnpessed the attack of foreign forces to their land many times. The army of Mongols invaded Khurasan twice in the thirteenth century. During these attacks, first from 1219 to 1222 by Chingiz Khan, and the second from 1253 to 1258 by Hulaku, many persons left this region for the neighbouring countries, including India.[152] Sayyid Sharaf ud Din, one of the ancestors of the Sayyids of Kintur moved from Nishapur to India, following the attack of Hulaku to this region.[153] This event took place during the reign of Sultan Muhammad bin Tughluq who gave the Sayyid a madad-i maash grant "at Kintur on the bank of the river Ghagra, in the present district of Bahraich". [154] Timur invaded North eastern part of Iran and was the cause for migration of Iranian families to India in groups after 1385 A.D. By now India was getting integrated more and more with the Persianate world. Hence, northern India became an integral part of the Perso-Islamic world in parallel lines as did Ghazna, Transoxania, or Ghur. It should be noted that as Tirmiz, Bukhara, Nishapur, Sabzavar, Heart, and Isfahan were important in the cultural landscape, Lahore and Delhi also got its

[152] Jean Calmard, 'Safavid Persia in Indo- Persian Sources and in Timurid- Mughal Perception', The making of Indo- Persian culture, ed. Muzaffar Alam, Francoise Nalini Delvoye, Marc Gaborieau, Delhi, 2000, p. 325.
[153] Muhammad Ali Azad Kashmiri, Nujum us Sama, Tehran, 2003, p. 447.
[154] Saiyid Athar Abbas Rizvi, A Socio Intellectual History of the Jsna Ashari in India, Canberra, 1986, II, p. 164.

place rightfully along with reputation.[155] The events at the end of Shah Jahan's rule did not portend well for the future of the Empire.

In between invasions, there were cases of warfare which generated insecurity and caused the movement of populations. The Safavids were engaged in warfare on both sides of their frontiers; with the Ottoman Turks in the west, and the Uzbeks in the East. These battles created insecurity and disorder especially in the north western and north eastern parts of Iran and compelled many persons to leave the country.

Qazi Nurullah Shushtari (1549-1610), the renowned Iranian jurist due to insecurity from the invasion of Uzbeks of the town left Mashhad.[156] The Uzbek incursion caused the murder of Qazi's brother and he had to leave for India. The Qazi received a warm welcome by the emperor Akbar[157], and was appointed as the qazi of Lahore.[158] The third important invasion faced by the Iranians was that of the Afghans in the eighteenth century. Beside a terrible massacre, this incursion left thousands of people homeless.[159] However, not everyone could migrate; only those persons were able to migrate to a secure place like India who had a reputation in learning or literature, or were joined to the safavid court. Owing to the Afghan attack on Isfahan, Ali Hazin also left his country.

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[155] Ibid, p. 134.
[156] Nurullah Shushtari, Sawarim ul Muhraqa, Tehran, 1988, Introduction, p. 12.
[157] Nawab Inayat Khan Rasikh, Bayaz, Ms. Habib Ganj Collection, Aligarh Muslim University, ff. 97a-b.
[158] Abdul Qadir Badauni, Muntakhab ut Tawarikh, Calcutta, 1868, III, pp. 137-138.
[159] Muhammad Ali Hazin Lahiji, Tazkirat ul Ahwa/, Tehran, 1996, pp. 199-200.

Persecution

Absolutist rulers never tolerated any difference of opinion among themselves. The Safavids subjugated every antagonistic movement. In addition, like other places, in the Safavid court too, members of the aristocracy were involved in intrigues against each other. When a new king was enthroned, a new group of men accompanied him and tried to push aside the previous group and vice-versa. During such power plays some courtiers fell victim to cruel intrigues. Khaja Imadud Din Mahmud Gawan (d. 88611481) whose forefathers were statesmen in the Kar-Kiya dynasty of Gilan. In Shah Tahmasp's reign, he was forced to leave Iran because there persisted issues of family rivalry and court intrigue.[160] This able politician, after wandering in places like Cairo and Damascus left for the Deccan.[161] He eventually entered the Bahmani court and became prime minister. The collection of Mahmud Gawan's letters, Riyaz ul Insha, shows his zeal for promoting the Deccan as an outstanding cultural centre in India. Gawan corresponded with prominent Iranian scholars in order to persuade them to travel to the Deccan. He invited Ubaidullah Ahrar, Nurud Din Abdur Rahman Jami, and the renowned philosopher Jalal ud Din Dawani to the Deccan.[162]

The Deccan saw the reign of the Bahmanis from 1347 to 1518 A.D. and their territory reached its peak during the Gawan Ministry. Dakhinis were also given significant posts who worked in rivalry with foreigners (pardesis). This rivalry

[160] H.k. Sherwani, Mahmud Gawan, The Great Bahmani Wazir, Allahabad, 1941, pp. 23-24.
[161] Ibid. pp. 25-26
[162] Mustafa K. Sherwani, The Bahmanis of the Deccan, New Delhi, 1985, pp. 227-228.

and competition helped maintain the balance of power in the government. Rizvi signifies that in 1481 A.D., after Gawan's execution on the Bahmani king's order, it was seen that the kingdom's glory faded.[163]

The aid of the first two Safavid kings to Shiism was the reason for enmity with Sunnism followers or in some cases they were also accused of following Sunnism. Contrary to his father, Shah Ismail II (1576-1578) was inclined to the Sunni sect of Islam, and the Shiis were not his favourite. The migration of Mir Muhammad Mumin Astarabadi (d. 1625) a eminent personality in the Qutb Shahi court was because of the religious policies of Shah Ismail II and the anarchy during the rule of Sultan Muhammad Khudabanda (1578-1588) being a prominent scholar was Prince Haider Mirza's tutor. Prince Haider Mirza was the son of Shah Tahmasp I and left Iran during the rule of Sultan Muhammad Khudabanda. He was appointed as Peshwa by Sultan Muhammad Quli Qutb Shah. The position of Peshwa was the most important in the Qutb Shahi State and directed judicial, religious, educational and political policies in the kingdom. Rizvi writes of Mir Mumin's services in the Qutb Shah's court:

Sultan's attention was diverted by Mir Muhammad Mumin from the situation of warfare and he was avoided from expanding his territory, re-orientating the cultural life of the capital and strengthening the internal administration. He was deeply concerned of Mughal expansionist designs and belived that only

[163] Rizvi, History of Isna Ashari Shiis in India, I, p. 260.

pressure from the Shah of lran could stave off the crisis. He also did all he could to promote unity among the Deccan Sultans.[164]

Shah Abbas Safavi was partial towards Mir Mumin. Mir had the choice of going back to Iran, but he chose to stay in the Qutb Shahi court and aspired to preach Shiism in the Deccan. Shah Abbas recognized and revered the presence of Mir in the Qutb Shahi court and he was encouraged to build strong relations between the two dynasties.[165] Hyderabad emerged as an important town when Mir Mumin was Peshwa, and although the Sultan had mooted the idea of such a town, its plan and construction were done according to the Mir's direction.[166]

Inspite of the initial attachment of Safavids to Sufism, thay later became opposed to it. This opposition was mainly out of the affiliation of Sufi leaders with the Sunni sect of Islam.[167] The other reason was disagreement between jurists and Sufis. It is known that in the Safavid period, jurists had a particular position in the court. Shah Tahir, the principal counsellor of Burhan Nizam Shah who came to Ahmadnagar in 1523, was the object of suspicion by Shah Ismail I due to his popularity among a group of Sufis, and then was compelled to leave Iran on account of an attempt upon his life. Burhan Nizam Shah was compelled to convert to Shiism and follow it by Shah Tahir between 1537-

[164] Rizvi, History of Isna Ashari Shiis in India, I, p. 304.
[165] Sayyid Muhyud Din Qadiri Zur, Mir Muhammad Mumin Astrabadi, tr. Qum, 2008, pp. 179-180.
[166] Ibid, p. 115.
[167] Rasul Jafaryan, *The Safavids in the Arenas of Religion, Culture and Politics*, Qum, 2000, II, p. 517.

1538. With further propaganda and spreading, Shiism was declared the religion of the state.[168]

But, it must be noted that a few groups that possessed heterodox views were oppressed and tormented, for example, the Nuqtawis. They were the followers of Mahmud Pasikhani whose views were rejected in the Shiite environment of lran. During the reign of Akbar, the Nuqtawis migrated to India as Akbar was forbearing towards different religions and orientation. Thus one can see that persecution, political or religious, personal or collective, forced people and groups to move out of Iran, and India was one destination they favored.

Employment

The flow of Iranians to India increased considerably when the Indo-Islamic states were established. The Indian rulers chose to utilize the talents of foreigners, including Iranians specially to strengthen the ground of their powers. Since Iran had the status of organized state, rulers showed high interest in learning and implementing Iranian methods of administration. Moreover the loyalty of Iranians in their duties made them trustworthy to manage the imperial affairs.[169]

Under the Delhi Sultanate, a new phase began in the the relation between Iran and India. While the Turks and the Afghans were the strong arms of the central government, Iranians worked as their meditative mind.[170] As discussed earlier,

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[168] Rizvi, *History of the Isna Ashari Shiis in India*, I, pp. 85-86.
[169] Firdos Anwar, *Nobility under the Mughals*, Delhi, 2001, p. 85
[170] Muhammad Yasin,*A Social History of Islamic India*, Delhi, 1974, pp. 5-6.

the presence of Iranians was more perceptible in the court of the kings of the Deccan, the Bahmanis and their successors.

A new phase in the relationship between the two neighbouring power began under the Mughals. Humayun was helped by shah Tahmasp with men, money and war material to regain his kingdom. A large number of Iranians accompanied him and found positions of importance in his empire.[171]

The court of the Mughal Emperor Akbar attracted the most number of Iranians, including artisans, scholars, administrators and literary men. Akbar himself had a special interest in the presence of talented Iranians in his court. Muzaffar Alam surmised that Akbar desired to repay the debt to the Iranians as the Mughals helped them in conquering India again.[172] Additionally, the principle of Sulh-i Kul created a propitious domain for ideal thoughts and ideas in Akbar's court, from the deserted Sunnis of Iran to the Nuqtawis. Akbar gave a systematic structure to the Mughal bureaucracy and also made it ethnically cosmopolitan.

Between the periods of 1575-1595, among the 184 mansabdars of Akbar's court, 47, i.e., more than 25 percent of them were Iranians.[173] 24 of them gained more power and popularity during Jahangir's reign whose favorite queen, Nurjahan, was also an Iranian. The share of the total award of Iranian

[171] Sukumar Ray, *Humayun in Persia*, Calcutta, 1948, p. 61.
[172] Muzaffar Alam, *'The pursuit of Persian Language in Mughal Politics', Modern Asian studies*, 32,2, 1998, £· 321.
[173] Afzal Husain, *The Nobility under Akbar and Jahangir*, New Delhi, 1999, p. 191.

nobles in the Shahjahan reign, among the Turanis, Afghans, and different groups of Indians was of the highest level.

Learning about the plight of Turanis and lranians during Aurangezeb's reign, Athar Ali claimed that just 13.6% of the nobles in the reign of Aurangzeb's first phase were Turanis, and in the second phase of the rule of this emperor, this number decreased to 12.5%. He explains about Iranians' superiority over Turanis:

The Iranians were supposed to be increasingly cultured, and got favour under Shahjahan and Jahangir. It has been recommended that in the war of succesion Aurangzeb gathered the Sunnis against the Shias, but there are no grounds for this allegation. From the group of 1000, 124 were known to have supported Aurangzeb in the battle of Samugarh, out of which 27 of them were Iranians, 4 of them holding rank of 5,000 zat and above. As against this, 23 out of 87 of Dara Shukoh's supporters were Iranians. Shaista Khan and Mir Jumla were Irani nobles of high cadre and were Aurangzeb's votaries.[174]

Although in the Mughal court Iranian nobles were protective of their interests, but as Riaz ul Islam has pointed, they essentially aligned their interest with that of the Mughal kings.[175] In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the rule of Shiites existed in Awadh and they were successful in attracting Iranians to this region. Iranians were encouraged to find employment in their kingdom as the Nawabs of Awadh also were of Iranian origin.

[174] M. Athar Ali, *The Mughal Nobility under Aurangzeb*, Oxford, 1997, p. 19.
[175] Riazul Islam, *Indo- Persian Relations, tr. Tehran*, 1994, p. 262.

Therefore employment provided by the Nawabs drew the Iranians towards the Mughal court and the court of the nobles. They were awarded jobs and mansabs by which they enjoyed a prosperous life in India.

Commerce

Commercial relations between India and Iran related to commerce started from the third millennium BC and it reached its peak in the middle of this period i.e., in the time of Saragon of Akkad (2371-16 BC) except from 1600 BC to 600 BC. The two regions did not have strong relations between them as due to the presence of chaotic conditions for a long time.[176]

Between Iran and India, the commercial relations were intensified by the element that in terms of strategies, all carvans that started from Central Asia or India for the Mediterranean, had to pass through the Iranian high plateau. At the center of a network of linkages was India geographically placed which joined these far off places like the Arabian Sea, Red Sea, Central Asia, South East Asia and China.[177]

During the Parthian Empire, (250 BC to 226 AC) there were strong commercial relations between Iran and India, since there was an establishment of silk route in this space. Because of the issues of high robberies and theft, the land routes became insecure and resulted in the sea route from Persian Gulf to the Indian

[176] M. K. Dhavalikar, *'India- Iran Contacts in Prehistory', Growth of Civilization In India and Iran*, p. 1.
[177] Ishrat Alam, *'Technological Exchange between India and Iran in Ancient and Medieval Times'*, Ibid, p. 77

coast becoming significant. Under the Sassanids also, commercial relation between India and Iran thrived.[178]

Due to agricultural and manufactured products of India, this country was constantly one of the main commercial partners of lran; and in the Safavid period this relation reached its high point.[179] Iranian silk was imported into India; along with other items such as, madder (runas), used as a red and crimson dye for Indian cotton, and almonds (badam), and Shiraz wine.[180]

Najaf Haider has explained that there exist three parameters that prove potent that the merchants use in the process of choosing routes: personal safety and the safety of the goods and the possessed money, the length of travelling time, and transaction costs.[181] The Gulf became an important route for maritime for Iranian traders because of the persistence of the first and second factors in the Persian Gulf route to India. From thirteenth century onwards, the Persian Gulf route declined because of the destruction of Baghdad (1258) and Mongol invasion as well as the ravages by Mamluks of the port towns on the Syrian coast, in possession of the Crusaders (1291).[182]

However in the sixteenth century, the route gained importance. For its revival, a few factors were responsible, namely:

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[178] U.P. Arora, *'India, Greece and Iran', Ibid*, p. 71.
[179] Najaf Haider, *'Global Networks of Exchange, the India Trade and the Mercantile Economy of Safavid Iran', Ibid*, p. 193
[180] *Ibid*, p. 195.
[181] *Ibid*, p. 190.
[182] *Ibid*.

The first being the trade routes political unification from Aleppo to Basra. The Ottomans made major territorial annexes in Syria, Yemen, Iraq, and Iran between 1516 and 1538 AD. The protection provided and encouraged a route to the merchants by the Ottoman state. This was a significant factor which resulted in the transformation of Aleppo into the biggest Levantine entrepot, and it resulted in growth of the biannual caravan traffic to Basra and Hurmuz.[183]

For the development of Hurmuz as a commercial port, the presence of Portuguese in the Persian Gulf during the second half of the sixteenth century, and the way they safeguarded the merchant convoys, for their monopolistic aims acted as two main reasons. Although in the early seventeenth century, its significance declined, the display of a new factor grew the significance of Persian Gulf routes manifold at the same time on the Indian side:

On the Indian side, there was a third development which immensely contributed in a favorable manner to the growth of the Persian Gulf trade, viz. the amalgamation of Mughal polity and economy. India and Iran were biggest trading partners during this period, and it worked out by providing a detailed stock of Indian exports to Iran during the 1630s and this suggests that over 32 metric tons of silver was the total value of merchandise.[184]

[183] *Ibid,* p. 191
[184] *Ibid,* p. 193

Abdul Latif Shushtari, in his travelogue introduced some of his relatives for commercial reasons that had travelled to India before him. The reason he came to India was also for commerce. Moreover, in the early nineteenth century when Ahmad Bihbahani travelled to India, he was encouraged by Iranian traders in different towns.

Commerce therefore proved to be an important link in the chain of men, ideas and merchandise moving between the two countries. Colonies of Iranians and Armenians existed in India; and of lndian baniyas in Isfahan.

Religious Motives

The travel of some Iranian sufis to India has often been to advocate their mystical thoughts and ideologies. Khaja Muin ud Din Sijzi's travel (b. 1141) the founder of Chishtiyya order,from Sijistan (Sistan) to Ajmer is an important case. Ajmer became a religious center where thousands of pilgrims assembled from far and near.[185]

Due to its geographical location India has been the confluence of different thoughts from ancient times. The principal of tolerance espoused by Indians also was a factor that permitted foreigners to live peacefully in this country.[186]

Shiism was an important religious link between the rulers and subjects of the two countries. As Najaf and Karbala gained importance and popularity as two Shiite holy places, the Indian Shiite rulers facilitated their financial aid and

[185] Khaliq Ahmad Nizami, Religion and Politics in India During the Thirteenth Cetury, Delhi, 1974, pp. 181- 182.
[186] Ershad, Historical Immigration of Iranians to India, p. 133.

assistance to the Shiite imams' shrine. Under the rule of Ottomans in Iraq, Shiite towns usually suffered deprivation. By extending monetary supports Indian Shiite nobles contributed towards the revival of these towns. One important reason for the inhabitants of the shrine cities to come to India was to seek financial support for the shrine cities.

Abdu Latif Shushtari writes that the reason of his brother's travel, Muhammad Shafi to India was to overcome the problem of shortage of water in Karbala. Hence, Aqa Muhammas Baqir Bihbahani and other renowned scholars encouraged him to travel to India for the sake of attracting contributions and donations for building a canal.[187] Describing the reasons of his travel to India, Ahmad Bihbahani also explained that one of his objections was to gather financial support from Mir Alam, the Iranian Shiite governor of Hyderabad for repairing the barriers of Karbala which was devastated on account of Wahhabi attack.[188] During the rule of Nawabs of Awadh, seeking financial support reached to the highest measure.

After the main period of advancement, the nobility of Mughals up to the rule of Akbar, began to incorporate a couple of well-recongnized racial groups during his rule. Iranians/Khurasanis (Persians), Sheikhzadas (Indian Muslims), Rajputs, Afghans and the Hindus were among the significant racial groups that were incorporated during Aurangzeb's reign. An interesting explanation of Mughal Emperors was their propensity towards deploying Prime Ministers of

[187] Abdul Latif Shushtari, Tuhfat ul A/am, Tehran,1984, p.l32.
[188] Ahmad Bihbahani, Mirat ul Ahwal-i Jahan Numa, Tehran, 1993, p.232.

Ithna Ashari all through their administration.[189] As said by Manucci "(they) are popular for promoting their own nation in the Mogul (Mughal) Empire, and the nobles in large numbers are Persians."[190] Accordingly, there existed a rivalry between Central Asian (Sunni) and Persian (*Ithna Ashari*) nobility. The nature of their nobility depicts that the Mughals were great believers of integrity and excellence, and they even set a high standard of religious tolerance.[191] This the reason why many Persians along with numerous natives of other areas, occupied positions of prominence in Aurangzeb's administration in view of their merit.

SETTELEMENT OF IRANIANS AND TURANIS UNDER MUGHAL RULERS:

UNDER ZAHIRUDDIN MUHAMMAD BABUR

The Mughal Military was of course originally Central Asian, and from the start it included not only members of the Turkic Chaghatay tribe but also Uzbeks, even Shibanids, members of the clan that had ousted the Timurid founder of the Mughal Empire, Babur, from Central Asia during the early 1500's.[192] Thus The nobility which came with Babur to Hindustan naturally had a dominating Turani complexion; where a few individuals from the Persian or Khurasani extraction who likely seemed to have joined Babur's service in minor

[189] S.S. Abd-ur-Rehman, *Hindustan Kay Salatin, Ulemah Aur Mashaikh Kay Ta'aluqaat Per Aik Nazar* [Urdu] (*K*arachi: National Book Foundation, 1990), p.11.
[190] Niccolao Manucci, *Storia Do Mogor* (Eng.Tr.) William Irvine 'Mogul India,' Vol.I (London: John Murray Albemarle, 1906), p.177.
[191] I.H. Qureshi, *The Administration* of *the Mughal Empire* (Karachi: The Director of Publications, University of Karachi, 1966), pp.252-53.
[192] Richard Foltz, *Op.cit.*, p. 139.

amplitudes, after the decline of Timurid dominion in Hirat in 1507 were, perhaps, the only exception.[193] These Khurasanis were the persons identified with Sultan Husain Baiqara's enlightened rule who were obliged to leave Khurasan after it was occupied by Shaibani Khan in 1507.[194] Among these Khurasanis a considerable section consisted of the Turkish speaking persons of diverse origins who had come to be classed with the Persians owing to their prolonged stay there in the service of Sultan Husain Mirza, for instance Sultan Junaid Barlas,[195] Yunus Ali,[196] Hasan Ali Jalair,[197] Qasim Husain Shaibani all of whom had a Turani background.[198] When Babur attacked India, prominent Turanis with him were Khwaja Klan, Nizamuddin Khalifa, Sultan Junaid Barlas, Hindu Beg, Sultan Muhammad Duldai, Treasurer Wali, Mahdi Khwaja, Muhammad Sl. Mirza, Shah Mir Hussain, Abdu'l-aziz the Master of the Horse,

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[193] Zahiru'd-din Muhammad Babur Padshah Ghazi, *Babur-Nama (Memoirs Of Babur), Vol.I,* tr. A.S. Beveridge, Delhi, 2000, pp. 275, 276, 277, 278. Babur has very clearly mentioned about their service as the *amirs* of Hussain Baiqara, their family background, as well as their personal character.

[194] *Ibid*. Also see "The Mughal Empire and the Iranian Diaspora of the Sixteenth century" by Iqtidar Alam Khan published in *A Shared heritage: The Growth Of Civilizations In India And Iran*, edited by Irfan Habib, 2002, II rpt. 2012, p.102.

[195] Babur, *Op. cit.*, p.276. Regarding him, it has been mentioned in *Baburnama* that he was the father of Nizamu'd-din 'Ali, Babur's *Khalifa* (Vice-regent). That *Khalifa* was of religious house on his mother's side may be inferred from his being styled both *Sayyid* and *Khwaja* neither of which titles could have come from his Turki father. His mother may have been *Sayyida* of one of the religious families of Marghinan, since Khalifa's son Muhibb-i-ali writes his father's name "Nizamu'd-din 'Ali Marghilani" in the preface of his Book on Sport (Rieu's Pers. Cat. P.485).

[196] *Ibid*, p. 278. It has been mentioned in *Baburnama* that Yunas Ali, son of Baba Ali was a *beg*, a confidant and of his Babur's household.

[197] *Ibid*. "Hasan of Ali Jalair was another. His original name was Hussain Jalair but he came to be called 'Ali's Hasan. His father 'Ali Jalair must have been favoured and made a *beg* by Babur Mirza; no man was greater later on when Yadgar-i-muhammad M. took Heri. Hasan-i-ali was Sl. Hussain Mirza's Qush-begi. He made *Tufaili* (Uninvited guest) his pen-name; wrote good odes and was the master of this art in his day. He wrote odes on my name when he came to my presence at the time I took Samarkand in 917 AH. (1511 AD.) Impudent (*bi bak*) and prodigal he was, a keeper of catamites, a constant dicer and draught-player.

[198] Iqtidar Alam Khan, *The Political Biography Of A Mughal Noble: Mun'im Khan Khan-I Khanan, 1497-1575*, Delhi, 1991, p.ix.

Adil Sultan, Jan Beg, Qutluq-qadam, Darwish-i-muhammad Sarban, Muhammadi Kukuldash, Sulaiman Mirza, Yunas-i-ali, Shah Mansur Barlas, Tardi Beg, Malik Wasim (brother) of Baba Qashqaand many others like Chin Timur (Mongol) and Qasim Husain (Uzbek).[199] Afzal Hussain in The Nobility Under Akbar and Jahangir writes that after the battle of Panipat, the nobility of Babur no longer remained purely Turani and further mentions that out of a total 116 nobles of Babur, 9 (7.76%) were Iranians and 73 (62.93%) were Turanis.[200]

UNDER NASIRUDDIN MUHAMMAD HUMAYUN

The premature death of Babur posed challenges for his inexperienced son Humayun, and he had to consolidate the gains that his father had left for him.[201] It is well known that the life of Humayun, son of the founder of the Mughal Empire, was turbulent, alternating between successes and setbacks. Due to the non-co-operation of his brothers, Humayun had to lose his throne in a confrontation with Sher Shah Suri, the Afghan leader, and went into exile in

[199] Babur, *Op. cit.*, *Vol. II*, pp. 445-474. Regarding Battle of Panipat, Babur himself writes in *Baburnama* that "Our right was Humayun, Khwaja Kalan, Sultan Muhammed *Duldai*, Hindu Beg, Treasurer Wali and Pir-quli *Sistani* ; our left was Muhammad Sl. Mirza, Mahdi Khwaja, Adil Sultan, Shah Mir Hussain, Sl. Junaid *Barlas*, Qutuqqadam, Jan Beg, pay-master Muhammad, and Shah Hussain (of) Yaragi *Mughul Ghanchi*. The right hand of the centre was Chin-timur Sultan, Sulaiman Mirza, Muhammadi Kukuldash, Shah Mansur *Barlas*, Yunas-i-ali, Darwish-i-muhammad *Sarban* and ' Abdu'l-lah the librarian. The left of the centre was Khalifa, Khwaja Miri-miran, Secretary Ahmadi, Tardi Beg (brother) of Quj Beg, Khalifa's Muhibb-i-ali and Mirza Beg Tarkhan. The advance was Khusrau Kukuldash and Muh. Ali *Jangjang*. Abdu'l-aziz the master of the horse was posted as the reserve. For the turning party (*tulghuma*) at the point of the right wing, we fixed on Red Wali and Malik Qasim (brother) of Baba *Qashqa*, with their Mughuls; for the turning party at the point of the left wing, we arrayed Qara-quzi, Abu'l-muhammad the lance-player, Shaikh Jamal *Barin's* Shaikh Ali, Mahndi and Tingri-birdi *Bashaghi Mughul*"

[200] Afzal Hussain, *Op.cit.*, p.4.

[201] B.V Rao, *World History*, New Delhi, 1994, p. 183.

1540 A.D. The Mughal nobility which had begun to resume a predominantly Turani complexion after the accession of Humayun became purely Turani afterwards, with the exception as before of a few Iranians.[202]

During exile period 1540-1555 A.D. a change in the work of Mughal nobility occurred when most of his Turani nobles joined Mirza Kamran after leaving him, his brother and ruler of Kabul and Qandahar.[203] A list of nobles given by the Abul Fazl, who accompanied Humayun to Persia during his exile period, consists of only 26 persons in all.[204] It is noteworthy that out of these, 7 were of Persian origin comprising 27 percent almost against the whole companions; they were, Khwaja Mu'azzam, Bairam Khan, Hasan Ali Ishak Aqa, his son Ali Dost Barbegi, Khwaja Ghazi Tabrezi, Khwaja Amber Nazir and Muhammad Qasim Mauji.[205] Majority were Turanis and they were; Aqil Sultan Uzbeg, Haji Muhammad Koki, Rushan Koka,

Khwaja Maqsud, Khwaja Aminu-d-din Mahmud, Baba Dost Bakhshi, Darvish Maqsud Bengali, Shaikh Yusuf Quli, Shaikh Bahlul, Maulana Nuru-d-din, Haider Muhammad Akhta Begi, Saiyid Muhammad Pakhna, Hafiz Sultan Muhammad Rakhna , Mirza Beg Baluc and his son Mir Hussain.[206] On the other hand during his stay in Persia, many people of Persian origin joined Humayun's service, for instance; Wali Beg Zulqadar and his two sons, Hussain Quli and Ismail Quli; also Haider Sultan Shaibani and his two sons, Ali Quli

[202] Afzal Hussain, *Op.cit*., p. 4, 5.
[203] *Ibid*.
[204] *Ibid*.
[205] Abul Fazl, *Akbar Nama*, *Vol.I*, Tr. by , H. Beveridge, Delhi, 1972, pp. 447-52.
[206] *Ibid.*

and Bahadur Khan. Certain other relatives and clansmen of Bairam Khan though in minor capacities also joined Humayun's service.[207]

The large influx of the Iranians of different ranks and backgrounds into the Mughal service came at the time of Humayun's return to Kabul from Shah Tahmasp's court in 1545.[208] Some of the Iranian notables who came with Humayun on this occasion already had the status of military officers under Shah Tahmasp. They were in fact deputed by the Shah to assist Humayun in his efforts to recover his lost empire.[209] Among them one may find mention of Husain Quli Sultan (brother of Ahmad Sultan Shamlu, the governor of Sistan),[210] Mirza Yaqub (a maternal uncle of the prince Khuda Banda who was nominated by the Shah to act *muhrdar* of Humayun), Khwaja

Rushdi (deputed to act as *diwan*). The Shah also permitted the Uzbek chief, Haider Sultan Shaibani, and his sons, Ali Quli and Bahadur, known for their bravery and distinguished ancestry, to accompany Humayun to Kabul. Along

[207] *Ibid*, p. 623

[208] Gulbadan, *Vol.II*, *Op.cit.*, p. 301. "When Humayun arrived in the province of Sistan, he found the Persian troops that had been sent to his assistance, cantoned over the country. They nominally under the command of Murad Mirza, the third son of the king of Persia, and an infant of two or three years of age; but were in reality commanded by Bidagh khan, of the Turki tribe of *Kajar*, from which the present royal family of Persia is descended. Humayun, in compliance with the wish of Shah Tahmasp, as soon as he arrived, collected and reviewed the troops. He found them in high order, and instead of 12,000 cavalry, and 300 *korchis*, or royal horse-guards, that had been promised, the muster proved that they amounted to at least 14,000 horse." See also Iqtidar Alam Khan's "Iranian Diaspora of the Sixteenth Century", *A Shared Heritage; The Growth of Civilizations in India and Iran*, ed. by Irfan Habib, New Delhi, 2002, p.102.

[209] *Ibid*, p. 294. "The twelve thousand cavalry that were to be placed under the nominal command of Sultan Murad Mirza, the Shah's third son, then an infant, were Kizelbashes of the Turki tribes. Bidagh Khan Kajar was named his Atalik or Protector. Shah-kuli sultan Afshar, the governor of Kerman, Ahmed Sultan Shamlu, the governor of Sistan, his brother Husein-kuli and a number of other officers and Amirs, were ordered to co-operate. The Shah told Humayun that he would add three hundred *Korchi Khaseh* (of his own body-guard cuirassiers), ready to obey any order of his Majesty, as if he had been their religious guide."

[210] *Ibid*, pp.276, 294.

with these notables, Humayun was followed and at this time, many other men of lesser ranks, such as Bayazid Biyat himself in the hope of finding employment as functionaries in one of the royal establishments or in the *sarkars* of high nobles. Names of some of these men were incidentally recorded by Bayazid in three separate lists of persons who came to India in 1555 in the retinues of Humayun, Akbar and Bairam Khan. The influx of Iranians to the Mughal court in search of patronage and employment continued throughout the period of Humayun's later stay at Kabul (1545-55) and in the period of Bairam Khan's regency (1556-60) in India.[211] However, to counter the power of Iranians, Humayun while planning the recon quest of India, invited the chiefs and warriors of Turan to accompany him on his invasion of Hindustan as a result of which many Turanis joined his ranks.[212] Even during the conquest of Qandhar and Kabul in 1545 A.D, many of the old Turani nobles of Humayun rejoined his service for instance Ulugh Mirza,[213] Fazil Beg,[214] Monaim Beg's brother,[215] Kasim Husein Sultan Uzbek, Yadgar Nasir Mirza, Monaim Beg, Hindal Mirza,[216] Tardi beg,[217] Bapus Beg,[218] Shah-berdi Khan[219] and some other chiefs of distinction. Gulbadan writes in *Humayun nama* that their arrival excited much joy, and was followed by that of many

[211] Iqtidar Alam Khan, *Op. cit.*, 2002, pp. 103, 104.
[212] Gulbadan, *Op.cit.*, p. 509. Humayun now proceeded towards Kabul, whence he addressed letters, not only to the different parts of his own dominions, but to Samarqand, Bokhara, and the cities of the north, inviting adventurers to join him in his grand enterprise.
[213] *Ibid*, p.309.
[214] *Ibid*.
[215] *Ibid*
[216] *Ibid*
[217] *Ibid*, p. 322.
[218] *Ibid*.
[219] *Ibid*.

others, both *amirs* and soldiers, who now hastened to return to their allegiance.[220] But these old nobles remained wavering in their loyalty.

In the meantime, large influx of Persians of different ranks and backgrounds into the Mughal service changed the scenario of Mughal nobility. As a result, the old Turani nobility tended to fade away from the political scene and the Persian nobles improved their position. Regarding this phenomenon, Afzal Hussain writes in his paper entitled, 'Liberty and Restraint-A Study of Shiaism in the Mughal Nobility', "It appears that, for the first time, *Shias* were not only admitted in large numbers but were also given important position. Bairam Khan Wali Beg Zulqadar, Ali Quli Khan-i-Zaman and his brother Bahadur Khan and certain other nobles professed Shia faith openly. The phenomenon caused much resentment among the older Turani nobles."[221]

UNDER JALALLUDIN MUHAMMAD AKBAR

When Akbar ascended the throne, though many Iranians and Turanis had already established their roots in India, however a larger number of new immigrants from Iran and Turan came and were welcomed during his reign. Alike, Abul Fazl in his *Ain-i-Akbar*i writes, "Infinite praise to the Almighty that through the justice of the Emperor and the harmonious order of his administration, Hindustan has become a gathering of the virtuous from all parts of the Universe, each of whom, in manifold ways has attained to the desire of

[220] *Ibid*.
[221] Afzal Hussain, "Liberty and Restraint- A Study of Shiaism in the Mughal Nobility," *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress,* p. 276.

his heart".[222] When Akbar ascended the throne, the prominent Turanis who served under him were Shamsuddin Atka, Munim Khan, Said Khan, Qutubud-Din Khan, Tardi Beg, *Khan-i-Azam* Mirza Aziz Koka, Zayn Khan Koka, whereas prominent Iranians were Haider Sultan Shaibani, Mulla Pir Muhammad Khan, Haji Muhammad Khan. Regarding the services of Mirza Aziz Koka, Akbar used to claim, "Between me and Aziz is a river of milk which I cannot cross".[223] The grandeur of the Mughal empire under Akbar, the patronage provided to the foreign immigrants as well as the turbulent political conditions in Iran and Turan led many more Iranians and Turanis to come to India and seek asylum, for instance Turanis like Mirza Sulaiman, Mirza Shahrukh, Ghazi Khan-i-Badakhshi, Mirza Sharfuddin Hussain and Iranians like Mirza Rustum Safawi, Mirza Ghiyas Beg, Sharif Amuli, Mirza Muzaffar Hussain Safavi, Nurullah Shushtri, Shah Fath ul-lah Shirazi and many others who were able to attain important political role under Akbar.[224] As these immigrants belonged to different religious beliefs, M. Athar Ali in his book *Mughal Nobility under Aurangzeb* writes, "The Akbar's policy of *Sulh-i-kul* (peace for all) was partly motivated by a desire to employ elements of diverse religious beliefs; *Sunnis* (Turanis and most of the *Shaikhzadas*), *Ithna Ashariyahs* (including many Persians) and Hindus (Rajputs).[225]

[222] Abul Fazl, *Ain-i-Akbari*, *Vol.III*, tr.H.S.Jarret, Delhi, 2006, p. 349.
[223] *Ibid*, p. 343. "His mother was Ji Ji Anaga. He grew up with Akbar, who remained attached to him to the end of his life. Though often offended by his boldness, Akbar would rarely punish him."
[224] Iqtidar Alam Khan, *Op. cit.*, 2000, p.108. The author has mentioned the name of Irani notables who came before 1580 and those who came after 1580.
[225] M. Athar Ali, *Op. cit.*, p.16.

UNDER JAHANGIR

It is a well known fact that the marriage of Mehrunnisa with Jahangir and the ascendancy of her family during his reign becomes one of the important factor for the migration of many Iranians to his court. Even Manucci while tracing the descent of NurJahan in *Storio Do Mogor*, writes, "Through her influence, the court of the great Mughals was filled with great nobles from Persia."[226] For instance Mir Jumla Isfahani, Musawi Khan, Muhammad Shafi Sabzwari, Dhul Faqr Khan, Saif Khan, Nawab Azam Khan, Qasim Khan Namakin[227] and many more joined the Mughal court during the reign of Jahangir. All of these, owing to the strength of their sword as well as personal merit were able to gain ascendancy in the Mughal court. Nevertheless, it does not negate the fact that Turanis too came to India during his reign. The chronic unrest and instability which characterized Uzbek politics seems to have been a major reason for seeking employment in India. Following the disruptions of 1611, for example, many Uzbek generals and soldiers, including such names as Husayn Biy, Pahalvan Baba, Nauras Bey Darman, and Bahram Biy came to serve Jahangir and were rewarded with robes of honour, horses, cash, *mansabs* and *jagirs*.[228]

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[226] Niccolao Manucci, *Storia Do Mogor*, (Eng Tr.) William Irvine 'Mogul India', *Vol.I*, London, 1906, p.159.

[227] Niccolao Manucci, p.171, "Some years before the death of Jahangir, it happened that secretory (*wazir*) presented to him a Persian, exaggerating greatly about him, and saying that he was known to everyone in Persia, and even to king himself, who ate salt in his house. As the king heard about him he made him a great noble, and gave him the title of *Cassam Can* (Qasim Khan).

[228] Jahangir, *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, Eng.Tr. Alexanders Rogers, *Vol.I*, Delhi, 1978, pp. 115-116.

UNDER SHAH JAHAN

In his reign of Shahjahan, the Mughal Empire reached to the zenith of its prosperity and affluence which attracted many foreign immigrants to come to India. B.P Saksena in his book *History of Shahjahan of Delhi* writes, "The fame of the wealth of India attracted a stream of foreign visitors from across the seas, who were dazzled by the magnificent grandeur of the Emperor and his court. The gorgeousness of his court surpassed their imaginations, and drew from them unstinted admiration.[229] Iranians who came during his reign were Mukhlis Hussain Tabrizi, Banda Reza Tabriz, Ali Mardan Khan[230], Ibrahim Khan, Muhammad Ali Beg, Danishmand Khan [231] , Mirza Abul Qasim, Muhammad Taqi[232], Aqil Khan Inayatullah.[233]

Under him, Turanis too were immigrating to India. For instance, diplomats sent by the Uzbeks were occasionally enticed into Mughal service as Waqqas Hajji, who first came to India as ambassador of Nazr Muhammad in 1632 entered Shah Jahan's service and was given the *faujdari* of Kangra and the title of Shah

[229] Banarasi Prasan Daksena, *History Of Shahjahan Of Delhi*, Allahabad, 1962, p. 237.
[230] Inayat Khan, *Shah Jahan Nama*, Eng. Tr. W.E Begley & Z.A Desai, New Delhi, 1990, pp.221-227.
[231] *Ibid*, p.451. "On the 9th of *Zi'l-Hijja* this year 1060 (3 December 1650), a learned scholar named Mulla Shafi'a Yazdi had the honour of being presented at court. After mastering all the known sciences both natural and metaphysical, for the sake of earning an honest livelihood, he had engaged to sell goods for merchants on condition of retailing half the profits; and having come to Hindustan for this purpose, he spent some time in the sublime camp and then departed to Surat with intent to return home. However, when the extent of his learning and abilities became known to the Emperor, an order was issued from the wisdom-cherishing presence for his presentation at court. Accordingly, on the 9th of *Zi'l-Hijja* 1060 (3 November 1650), he made his obeisance and was presented with a robe of honour and 3,000 rupees."
[232] Muhammad Taqi Tavildar Tansuqat (cashier of goods) came to India in 1630, with Muhammad Ali who was the ambassador of Shah Safi to Shahjahan.
[233] Nawwab Samsam-Ud-Daula Shah Nawaz Khan and his son Abdul Hayy, *The Maathir-Ul-Umara, Vol I*, Tr. H. Beveridge, Revised, annotated and compiled by Baini prashad, Patna, 1979, p. 259.

Quli Khan.[234] Besides the Mughal invasion of Central Asia in 1646 triggered a number of important defections, including that of Abdullah Beg Sarai, Grandson of Imam Quli's *ataliq* (Shakur Beg). He was sent along with his brother Muhammad Muhsin by his father Mansur Hajji, Nazr Muhammad's governor of Termez, to pay tribute to Shah Jahan following the Mughal victory. Abdullah Beg later received the title *Yekataz Khan* (he

who fights singly) and was killed during Prince Shuja's rebellion in 1658.[235] In addition to such voluntary transfers of allegiance, during the Mughal occupation Shah Jahan sent " a large group of scholars, theologians and others" from Balkh to India, where he granted them *sayurghals* (grants of land revenue- a Mongol tradition) in different parts of the Empire. Two Ashtarkhanid tutors, Razzaqberdi Ataliq, who had served Nazr Muhammad and Hajji Biy Kushchi, who had been tutors to Wali Muhammad had came and joined Shah Jahan.[236] Even Nazr Muhammad's sons Khusraw Sultan[237] and

[234] Inayat Khan, *Op.cit.*, pp.94, 205.

[235] *Shah jahannama*, p. 395. Also see Nawwab Samsam-Ud-Daula Shah Nawaz Khan and his son Abdul Hayy, *The Maathir-Ul-Umara*, *vol I*, Tr. H. Beveridge, Revised, annotated and compiled by Baini prashad, Patna, rpt, 1979, p. 509. "When by the exertions of prince Murad Bakhsh, Badakhshan and Bulkh came into the king's possession, and Nazr Muhammad became a vagabond, the Haji had charge of the government and port of Termiz. From soundness of Judgement he sent his sons Muhammad Muhsin and Abdullah Beg to wait upon the prince, and expressed his devotion to court."

[236] Richard foltz, *Op.cit.*, 1997, p. 144.

[237] Inayat Khan, *Op.cit*., p. 341. "Since the hordes of *Almans* had now gained an opportunity for tumult and rebellion, they proceeded to ravage and lay waste the frontiers of Balkh and Badakhshan. When the Sultan who was in Khanduz realized that no hope of assistance was left to him from any quarter, not even from his father, he decided that the only remedy for his misfortune lay in his betaking himself to his Majesty's prosperous threshold."

Abd al-Rahman[238] sought Mughal protection, as did Allah Quli, son of the powerful Uzbek commander and 'king maker' Yalangtosh.[239]

UNDER AURANGZEB

During Aurangzeb's reign there appears to have been marked decline in the number of Iranian immigrants, though the broad pattern of their immigration remains the same as in the reign of Shah Jahan. Though the number of immigrants coming directly from Iran declines, they could still maintain their majority on account of their inflow from the Deccan. The decline of the direct migration may partly have been due to Aurangzeb's engagement in the Deccan affairs which naturally lessened his interest in the situation in the north-west.

It is also likely that owing to the continuous engagement of Mughal forces in the Deccan, large scale recruitment of the Decanis and the constant pressure on the resources of the empire might have reduced the opportunities for Iranians directly coming from Iran. Nevertheless, Iranians came and important among them are; Mir Hidayat Ullah, Muzaffar beg Kirmani, Mirza Safavi Khan 'Ali Naqi'[240], Muhammad Amin Beg and the most significant among the Deccani Irani immigrant was Muhammad Ibrahim Mahabat Khan Haiderabadi. Similarly Turanis coming and

[238] *Ibid*. p. 455. "Accordingly, on the 16th of *Jumada* I 1061 (7 May 1651), 'Abd al-Rahman paid his respects and was presented with a robe of honour, jeweled turban ornament, dagger with incised ornament, a horse with gold saddle, a pair of elephants and 20,000 rupees; in addition he also received a *mansab* of 4,000, and his companions were honoured with largesse in proportion to their rank."
[239] *Ibid*, p. 272.
[240] Shah Nawaz khan, *Op.cit., Vol.II*, p.664. In the 47th year of Emperor's Aurangzib's reign he came to India and entered into service.

joining the court of Mughals were Baltun Beg[241] and Mir Muhammad Amin[242]. So from above, it becomes amply clear that under various Mughal Emperors, Iranians and Turanis came to India in large numbers and once they came, they were settled in different parts of Mughal India.

Origin of Iranian people, Numbers of people who migrated and time of immigration

Out of the 738 notables that were comprised in the Ma'âṣer al-omarâ, at least 198 (26.8 per cent of the total notables) were either immigrants who moved into India or descendants of people from Iran. This number may be even higher, because there are still 205 people whose origins have not been completely clarified.[243] People who came to be called Mughal notables, it is found that their relative proportion when considered of the Iranian elite was 25.54 per cent in 1575-95[244], 28.4 per cent in 1647-48[245], 27.8 per cent in 1658-78 and 21.9 per cent in 1679-1707[246]. This proportion corresponds well with

[241] Saqi Mustaid Khan, *Maathir-i-Alamgiri*, ed. Ahmad Ali, tr. J.N. Sarkar, New Delhi, rpt, 1986, p. 250. A Bukharan nephew of Qilich Khan.
[242] *Ibid*, p.303. He fled Turan after his father, Mir Baha'ud-din, was killed on suspicion of plotting with Urganj ruler Anusha Khan against 'Abd al-Aziz.
[243] We could easily diminish the number of people whose origin is not known in MU by consulting Athar Ali's two works on the Mughal nobility quoted above. I did not do so here, however, because, although at least one reference is quoted in his huge list of notables in The Apparatus of Empire, it does not mean that one can get access to the exact reference to the place of origin of the notable concerned. It just shows, in principle, the reference to either his manṣab or to his promotion. We must look elsewhere to confirm the origin of the person concerned. Due to a lack of time and the inaccessibility of some of the sources, I decided against doing this.
[244] Iqtidar Alam Khan, "The Nobility under Akbar", p. 35.
[245] Richards, Cambridge History of India, p. 145.
[246] Athar Ali, The Mughal 7obility under Aurangzeb, p. 19-20,35. Athar Ali regards people receiving over 1 000 zats as notables, while in the other two-aforementioned studies, people receiving over 500 zats are included in this category.

that of our source and it is safe to say that twenty or thirty per cent of the elite at the Mughal court was Iranian throughout the period.

From the sixteenth century until the outset of the eighteenth century, which means throughout the Safavid period, Immigration of Iranians into India continued without any stoppage or suspension. It is however known, that certain families whose ancestors came from Iran in the sixteenth century and whose descendants still retained an important political role in the eighteenth century. A good example is the family of the author of the Ma'âṣer al-omarâ, Samsam al-Dowla's. On the other hand, new immigrants came from Iran even in the seventeenth and at the outset of the eighteenth century.[247] Here it is important to note that the Iranian immigration from Iran to India was rather a permanent one and not a temporary phenomenon that only belonged to a particular period.

It frequently occurred in the Eastern Islamic world that because of an absence of expertise in organization, another dynasty utilized civil servants of the previous dynasty. In this manner the Safavid tradition re-utilized administrators of the Aq Qoyunlu, the dynasty they themselves had ousted. In this unique situation, it tends to be promptly comprehended that when the Mughal realm was established in the sixteenth century, numerous individuals from the Iranian world class were welcome to the Mughal court. The absence of regulatory authorities having Persian bureaucratic expertise in the recently vanquished

[247] For an example of immigration at the beginning of the eighteenth century, see MU, vol. I, p. 463.

region was not an intense issue. Besides, the way that the second ruler Humayun was at finally able to gain the position on the throne because of Safavid military's help more likely not having something to do with the Iranian populace development at the Mughal courts during the mid-sixteenth century. Therefore, it is a noteworthy fact that even when the dynasty prospered under the rule of Shah Jahan and Aurangzeb during the seventeenth century, the Mughals were still welcoming Iranian immigrants and gave them high positions in the court or kingdom.

At the point when the place of inception of the Iranian immigrants is examined, among the 198 Iranian notables that are referenced over, ten of them were Safavid's relatives[248], and fourteen had a place with tribal groups; while the origin of a further nine is vague. Then again, the places of origin of the remaining 165 individuals demonstrate that the majority of the Iranian settlers came to India from areas of the east and south-east of Iran, for example, Khorasan and Qohestan.[249] Taking into account that 42 individuals relocated from focal areas of Iran, for example, Isfahan and Qazvin, it tends to be deduced that a large portion of the migrants from Iran originated from the central or eastern part of Safavid region. It ought to be noticed that very few moved from the western part of Iran, yet the way that there was just a single

[248] All ten are descendants of Soltan Hoseyn Mirza b. Bahram Mirza, brother of Shah Tahmasp, living in the Qandahar region. They aligned with the Mughal side as a result of the purge of the royal family by Esma‘il II. See MU, vol. II, p. 670-676, vol. III, p. 296-302, 434-442, 583-586, etc.

[249] The number of people who came from Khwaf (19) is impressive, if one takes the size of the city into account. The numbers reflect Aurangzeb’s particular favour towards them. See Athar Ali, The Mughal 7obility under Aurangzeb, p. 19.

migrant from Tabriz, the biggest city in the western area of Iran should not be ignored.

Features of Iranian immigrants

Minorsky's impelling studies and research has found that the elites at the Safavid court were ordered into two diverse linguistic groups such as Turkic-speaking Turks and Persian-speaking Tajiks. The Tajiks, regularly called "men of the pen", were men of learning and basically responsible for civil and religious issues, while the Turks, called "men of the sword", were made out of military experts. [250] Among the 198 notables referenced before, Tajiks were 165 in number and Turks were just 14. This unevenness might be ascribed to the way that Turkish individuals firstly were essentially tribal and thus singular immigration was uncommon, and furthermore that the atmosphere of India might not have been reasonable for a nomadic lifestyle. [251] The most significant reason, however, was that, Persian being the language of court and organization, Persian speaking individuals with bureaucratic skills and a

[250] V. Minorsky, Tadhkirat al-mulûk, London, 1943, p. 14-16, 187-188 ; Aubin, "Šâh Ismâ'il" ; A.K.S. Lambton, Continuity and Change in Medieval Persia, London, 1988, p. 221-257, 297-327. Although it is obvious that we have to modify this dualistic view to some extent, as being too simple and not precisely reflecting the historical reality, I think such a classification still has some meaning. For a recent study on the Tajiks and the Turks, see for exemple, J. Aubin, Emirs mongols et vizirs persans dans les remous de l'acculturation, Paris, 1995 [Cahiers de Studia Iranica 15].

[251] It is a well-known fact that horse breeding is very difficult in India and the horse was one of the most important import items to India from Central Asia. See M. Alam, "Trade, State Policy and Religious Change : Aspects of Mughal-Uzbek Commercial relations, c. 1550-1750", JESHO 37/3 (1994), p. 208-210 ; J. Gommans, "The Horse Trade in Eighteenth-Century South Asia", JESHO 37/3 (1994) ; and M. Szuppe, "En quête de chevaux turkmènes : le journal de voyage de Mîr 'Izzatullâh de Delhi à Boukhara en 1812-1813", dans Inde-Asie centrale : routes du commerce et des idées, (Cahiers d'Asie centrale 1-2), Tachkent-Aix-en-Provence, 1996.

specific information of Persian culture were profoundly esteemed at the Mughal court.[252]

Unlike the Safavid court, there was on a fundamental level no differentiation in the Mughal realm between "men of the pen" and "men of the sword". In outcome, when settled there, even Tajik notables frequently partook in fights with the officers given to them. This is a fascinating certainty which shows plainly the qualification between Safavid society and Mughal society. No specific inclinations are detectable in the positions involved by Iranian individuals. They not just involved significant posts in central and neighborhood administration, for example, vazir (prime minister), vakil (regent), mirbakhshi (chief officer in charge of military department), ṣadr (chief officer in command of religious endowments and affairs), financial officer, local military and local governor, as mir-sâmân (master of royal household department) served in the royal household, mirtozuk (master of ceremonies at the court), qush-begi (master of royal aviaries), mir-âkhwor (master of royal stables), etc.[253] Out of 165 Tajiks, 61 of them were sayyid (seyyed), known as the Prophet's descendants. A sayyid was paid extraordinary regard and profited numerous advantages and entitlements, for example, exception from taxes,

[252] F. Robinson, "Perso-Islamic culture in India from the seventeenth to the early twentieth century", in R.L. Canfield (ed.), Turko-Persia in Historical Perspective, Cambridge 1991, p. 106-107.

[253] There still remains some obscurity concerning the function of these posts, but the glossary on the principal posts by Athar Ali is useful. See Athar Ali, The Apparatus of Empire, p. XXV-XXVI. See also Ishtiaq Husain Qureshi, The Administration of the Mughal Empire, Lohanipur – Patna (n.d.) ; H.K. Naqvi, History of Mughal Government and Administration, Delhi, 1990 ; Hare Krishna Mishra, Bureaucracy under the Mughals, 1556 A.D. to 1707 A.D., Delhi, 1989 ; Aniruddha Ray, Some Aspects of Mughal Administration, New Delhi, 1984 ; R.C. Majumdar (éd.), The Mughal Empire, Bombay, 1974, chap. XVII.

pensions and so forth in the Iranian culture.[254] Nevertheless, numerous sayyids emigrated to India. Maria Subtelny's study showed economic and political persecution at the time of the conquest of Khorasan by the Safavids might be the reason where sayyids were pushed to India.[255] It is however noted that numerous sayyids migrated to India due to their own volition. The connotation of this phenomenon remains vague, but it is certain privileges provided by Safavid society might be less attractive than that provided by India. As an example of a rare case, the Ma'âṣer al-omarà has reported the belief of a particular notable, claiming that the man was a Shiite with great ardent.[256] Although, the source mentioned does not mention of religion as a matter of discussion. Therefore, it is not feasible to categorize the Iranian people in groups from a religious standpoint, though most of the Iranians followed Shiite practices.[257] It is imperative that although the people who were associated with Mughal empire, be it kings or men who served the kings, were regarded as a Sunnite state, Iranian Shiite immigrants were also embraced at all times.

[254] R. McChesney, "Waqf and Public Policy : the Waqf of Shâh 'Abbâs, 1011-1023/1602-1614", Asian and African Studies 15 (1981), p. 171-172. Concerning the respect expressed by Mongol Ilkhans to sayyids, see Lambton, Continuity and Change, p. 325-326.

[255] The case of the immigration of Mirak Ghiyas, a sayyid from Herat is a good example. See M.E. Subtelny, "Mîrak-i Sayyid Ghiyas and the Timurid Tradition of Landscape Architecture", Studia Iranica 24/1 (1995), p. 27.

[256] See the case of Mir Mohammad Amin, infra.

[257] Athar Ali affirms that most Iranian people were Shiite on the basis of a phrase in Bada'uni's Montakhab al-tavârikh. We must pay attention to the fact that Bada'uni was referring only to Akbar's court and that he said most of the people from "Iraq" were Shiite, rather than those from "Iran" (including Khorasan) as a whole. See Athar Ali, The Mughal 7obility under Aurangzeb, p. 19 ; 'Abd al-Qâder b. Moluk Shâh Badâ'unî Muntakhab al-tavarîkh, ed. Ahmad 'Alî and Lees, Calcutta, 1865-69, vol. II, p. 326-327.

Emigration of Iranian Elites to India

In general terms there were two types of immigration during the Mughal period. One of them was immigration by force, where some people were forced to flee to India as a result suspicion of being accused of being Sunnites, being rebels, or Emigration of Iranian Elites to India merely losing royal favor.[258] India became a political asylum for them and immigrants never went back to Iran. Such immigrations have happened numerous times in history; hence the immigrations cannot be categorized in relation to a particular period. Here the most interesting matter to study about where immigrants migrated to India on their own. This was the second type of immigration. The incapability to flourish and prosper in the Safavid society resulted in their migration into India without doubt. The immigrants had the freedom to return to Iran, or at least could keep in touch with their friends and relatives.[259] Hence, two examples of the careers of two notables who migrated to India are elucidated below:

- Mir Mohammad Amin

In Isfahan, Mir Mohammad Amin was a successor of the sayyid family. One of members of the Shahristani-sayyid family designated mostowfi al-mamâlek at

[258] For example, see the case of Asalat (Aṣâlat) Khan Mir ʻAbd al-Hadi (MU, vol. I, p. 167), of ʻAli Mardan Khan (MU, vol. II, p. 795-807) and of Mir Ghiyas al-Din ʻAli (MU, vol. III, p. 812-817).

[259] Besides the two examples presented here, further such examples include Asaf (Âṣaf) Khan Khwaja Ghiyas al-Din ʻAli Qazvini, a son of a davâtdâr (ink-holder) at the Safavid court (MU, vol. I, p. 90-93), Asaf Khan Mirza, a son of a vizier of Kashan and himself at one time an attendant at royal meetings (bâryâb-e majles-e shâh) (MU, vol. I, p. 107-115), Asalat Khan Mirza Mohammad whose ancestors had been the guardians of the holy shrine of Mashhad (MU, vol. I, p. 222-225), Daneshmand Khan, a man of erudition and patron of F. Bernier (MU, vol. II, p. 30-32), and Fathallah Shirazi, a man of great learning who was invited to ʻAdelshah's court (MU, vol. I, p. 100-105).

the beginning of the Safavid dynasty under Shah Esma'il I.[260] Mirza Razi (Râżi), Mir Mohammad Amin's nephew was Shah Abbas I's favorite and most loved and was honored by marrying one of his daughters.[261] When the French traveler, Jean Chardin describes of Isfahan there is a mention of a blind prince who was outstanding at mathematics and he was a son of Mirza Razi.[262] Mirza Razi was given the most important post in office in the field of Safavid religious administration, the Sadr. He followed Mir Jalal al-Din Hoseyn Sala'i (Ṣalâ'i), his uncle's principles in 1016/1607-08 and stayed there till he breath his last in 1026/1617. Mirza Rafi, his cousin following his death succeeded his position. Hence, Mir Mohammad Amin was associated with one of the most elite families of Safavid society during that period.

Mir Mohammad Amin had paid his visits to Golconda in 1013/1604-05 but there have been no sources that have deciphered the reason for this visit. The sovereign of Golconda around then perceived his abilities and gave him a significant position in state administration. He at last progressed toward

[260] Eskandar Monshi, Târikh-e 'âlam-ârâ-ye 'abbâsi, 2 vol., Tehran, 1350 Sh/1971 [hereafter TAA], p. 164. R. Quiring-Zoche, Isfahan im 15. und 16. Jahrhundert, Freiburg, 1980, p. 242.

[261] Her name was Hava (Ḥavâ) Begom. After the death of Mirza Razi, she was given to his cousin, Mirza Rafi'. See TAA, p. 929 ; Naṣrallâh Falsafi, Zendegâni-ye Shâh 'Abbâs-e avval, vol. II, Tehran, 1334/1955, p. 201.

[262] According to Eskandar Monshi, Mirza Razi died in 1026/1617. He was survived by a very young son named Mir Sadr al-Din Mohammad, grandson of the sovereign through the marriage of 'Abbas's daughter and Mirza Razi (TAA, p. 929). Following the enthronement of Shah Safi (1039/1630-31), a purge of the royal family was carried out. Among the purged members descended from Shah 'Abbas's daughters, we find the name of Mirza Razi (Mohammad Ma'sum b. Khwâjagi Eṣfahâni, Kholâṣat alsiyar, ed. Iraj Afshâr, Tehran, 1368 Sh/1989, p. 126), or a son of Mirza Razi, ṣadr (Eskandar Monshi, Ẕeyl-e târikh-e 'âlam-ârâ-ye 'abbâsi, ed. Soheyli Khwânsari, Tehran, 1317 Sh/1938, p. 90). He ought to have been executed, but his life was spared and he was blinded. Mir Sadr al-Din Mohammad might have taken his father's name after growing up. He was then at least thirteen years old and this fact corresponds with Chardin's remark that the prince was blinded after growing up. Cf. Jean Chardin, Voyage du Chevalier Chardin, en Perse et autres lieux de l'Orient, 10 vol., Paris, éd. L. Langlès, 1811, vol. VIII, p. 47-59, vol. IX, p. 554, 555.

becoming vakil (regent). After the death of the lord, nonetheless, he was expelled by the new ruler and along these lines moved to the kingdom of Bijapur looking for another position. Incapable to locate an opportunity for himself there, he came back to Iran (autumn 1614). His nephew being ṣadr during that time, he was gotten courteously by Shah Abbas. He anticipated a high post at the court, yet the Shah, notwithstanding his thoughtful welcome, did not offer him an intriguing position, being just anxious to take advantage of the fortune Mir Mohammad had amassed in India. Mir Mohammad relinquished his post at the Safavid court after four years desiring to serve at the Mughal courts. Learning about Mir Mohammad's caliber, Emperor Jahangir invited him from Isfahan to serve at the Mughal court in 1027/1617-18[263]. Jahangir contented him with 2500 zats[264] and 200 horses for his conscientious journey and his precious gifts.[265] Subsequently, he attained significant positions at court such as mir-bakhshi and mir-sâmân and was appraised to possession of 5 000 zats and 2 000 horses. His last days were spent in India in Rabi' I 1047/September 1637[266]. According to the Ẕakhirat al-khavânin, a fervent Shiite gave huge money in charity to people who suffered from starvation due to a drought in the Deccan, though certain Iranian people at

[263] The story of Mir Mohammad Amin's return to Iran and second journey to India is described by Eskandar Monshi in a slightly different way. He was received by Shah 'Abbas near the Aras river on his return from Tiflis. But "his overweening ambition led him to make remarks displeasing to the shah ; for instance, he let it to be known
that he would be satisfied with nothing less that the positions of vizier of the supreme dîvân and vakîl-e nafs-e homâyûn" ; TAA, p. 883, English translation by R.M. Savory (Eskandar Monshi, History of Shah Abbâs, Boulder, 1978), p. 1098.
[264] ZKh, p. 219, says the sovereign gave him 1 500 zats and 200 horses.
[265] He brought as presents twelve Iraqi horses, nine carpets and two rings of ruby (ZKh, p. 219).
[266] MU, vol. III, p. 413-415.

the Mughal court were adamant that it was not enough and claimed that two hundred thousand rupees be sent to his sons and relatives in Iraq every year (certainly in Isfahan) in order to buy gardens, houses and property there.[267]

- Hakim Da'ud

Hakim Da'ud's mother and father were both physicians at the court of Shah 'Abbas' and harem respectively. In 1029/1619-20[268], after the death of his father, Da'ud succeeded him and was admitted into royal service as a physician. Throughout Shah Safi's reign (1629-42), he resided at the Safavid court but was not heeded any special attention. Once 'Abbas II was enthroned, Da'ud realized that he had a chance of promoting himself. He immediately proceeded towards India with an aim to change masters in 1053/1643-44.

After reign of Aurangzeb started, Da'ud was confined, possibly because his relationship with the former emperor was too close. He died in 1073/1662-63. Appearance of his name numerous times in European travel accounts, reflection of his high influence at the Mughal court is seen including the names of Bernier, Manucci, and Chardin.[269] Da'ud's son, Mohammad Ali Khan had visited India along with his father and surprisingly it is known that unlike his

[267] ZKh, p. 219. The same story, a little less clear, is found in MU as well.
[268] TAA, p. 955.
[269] According to Manucci, Hakim Da'ud died after taking, in place of Shah Jahan, the poison sent by Aurangzeb to assassinate the emperor, see Storia de Mogor or Moghul India 1653-1708 by 7iccolao Manucci, tr. W. Irvine, London, 1907-08, vol. II, p. 65 ; François Bernier, Histoire de la dernière révolution des états du Grand Mogol, 2 vol., Paris 1670, vol. I, p. 240-241 ; Chardin, Voyages, vol. VII, p. 462-463.

father, Mohammad Ali Khan was always in favor of Aurangzeb and served him his entire life.[270]

After having his opulence in India, Hakim Da'ud had a large mosque constructed in Isfahan, his home town and named it after him. In 1067/1656-57, the construction of the Masjid-e Hakim was started and was completed in 1073/1662-63, the year in which Da'ud died.[271] The place where the mosque was situated was significant as it was constructed on Masjid-e Jorjir's site. It is more important as it had been built on the second Friday mosque of the city during the Buyid period.[272] It was arranged close by the Grand Bazar which associated the old Maydan (Meydân-e kohna) with the Royal Maydan (Meydân-e Shâh), recently worked by Shah 'Abbas I. This was the extremely focal point of the Emigration of Iranian Elites to Indian city, and no better area could have been picked. Much care was taken so the workers worked in great conditions. Not exclusively were the laborers accommodated: it is said that feed was dispersed along the street for the donkeys that conveyed the building materials.[273] These are the confirmations which demonstrate the significance of structure of the mosque was for Hakim Da'ud. The mosque is as yet predominant today, being the third biggest in the city after the Masjid-e Jom'a (Friday Mosque) and the Masjid-e Emam. Hakim Da'ud remained in India and

[270] MU, vol. I, p. 490-493, vol. III, p. 625-627.
[271] Loṭfallâh Honarfar, Ganjina-ye âsâr-e târikhi-ye Eṣfahân, Isfahan, 1344 Sh/1965, p. 612-620.
[272] Concerning the Masjed-e Jorjir, see H. Gaube et E. Wirth, Der Bazar von Isfahan, Wiesbaden, 1978, p. 203-204 ; O. Grabar, The Great Mosque of Isfahan, London, 1990, p. 47-48.
[273] Mirzâ Ḥasan Khân Sheykh Jâberi Anṣâri, Târikh-e Eṣfahân va Ray va hammaye jahân, Tehran, 1321, p. 270-271.

stayed away forever to Iran after his migration, however he kept up close relations with his relatives and companions in Isfahan and had constantly recognized and connected himself with Isfahan for an incredible duration.

The careers of both emigrants exemplify the strong attachment the emigrants felt for Isfahan even after their emigration. Contradicting Satish Chandra's contention,[274] there were many Iranian people even after their emigration maintained contacts with their respective birthplaces and sometimes visited Iran in a relatively informal way. The same kind of mobility can be displayed in case of Persian poets who held managerial posts at the Mughal court.[275] As the Ma'âṣer al-omarâ pertinently says, "India was a source of fortune" for them.[276] Only if the Ma'âṣer al-omarâ is studied and researched, it may not prove enough to give a clear picture of the emigrations of Iranian elites to India and their careers at the Mughal court during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Therefore, extensive studies can be gained after studying various other Mughal sources like the chronicles, tazkiras, documents and biographies of various nobles of that period.

Simultaneously, it must not be neglected that the emigration was always one way, i.e., from Iran to India. History never noticed that a person of Indian origin migrated to Iran and even if they migrated, attained any high position at

[274] Satish Chandra stated that the Iranian people had to take their families to India and had no contact with the land of their birth after their immigration. See S. Chandra, Parties and Politics at the Mughal Court 1707-1740, Aligarh, 1959, p. xxxii.
[275] Many such examples can be found in Sâjedallâh Tafhimi, Sho'arâ-ye Eṣfahâni-ye Shaba Qâra, Islamabad, 1994 ; see p. 12, 23, 32, 43, 44, 52, 57, 67, 79, 85, 87, 88, 89, 94, etc. I thank Charles Melville for informing me of the existence of this valuable book and allowing me to refer to his own copy.
[276] MU, vol. II, p. 30.

the Safavid court. But at the political and cultural levels, the people moved in large numbers from west to east. It was also seen that a various Indian merchants in the seventeenth century went to Iran. Most caravanserais around the Royal Maydan in Isfahan were engaged by Indian merchants that time.[277] It is said there were in excess of ten thousand Indians in Isfahan and there existed even a crematory exceptionally held for them on the shore of the Zayanda stream in the latter half of the seventeenth century.[278]

Stephan Dale's investigation clearly demonstrates that, from a financial perspective, the surge of individuals moved rather from east to west. Every one of these facts imply that in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, there existed, socially and monetarily, an approximately unified zone including Afghanistan, Iran and northern and central India. Various Iranian individuals having modern Persian culture emigrated from Iran to India looking for respect and fortune, while numerous Indian merchants moved from India to Iran searching for financial benefits. It is an incredibly intriguing and significant question how Central Asia under the Uzbek system was associated with this Indo-Persian world. Until the breakdown of Timurids rule, till the start of the sixteenth century, Central Asia and Iran frequently shared a common social and political foundation. Individuals moved effectively from one to the next. Movement of people between India and Central Asia was significant during

[277] M. Haneda, "The Character of the Urbanisation of Isfahan in the Later Safavid Period", in Ch. Melville (ed.), Safavid Persia. A History and Politics of an Islamic Society, London – New York, 1996, p. 374. The figure was drawn mainly based on the description of Isfahan by Jean Chardin and on the result of field work by Gaube and Wirth, Der Bazar von Isfahan.
[278] Chardin, Voyages, vol. VIII, p. 93 ; S.F. Dale, Indian Merchants and Eurasian Trade, 1600-1730, Cambridge, 1994, p. 67.

that period. It is realized that the Mughal dynasty originated from Central Asia and there was a powerful Turani group (a group from Central Asia) at its court.

RELATION OF IRANIANS AND TURANIS WITH PEOPLE OF THOSE AREAS

When appointed, Iranians and Turanis not only governed those areas, but had to deal with the local people of these areas and eventually establish relations with them. For instance, Under Jahangir, it was Baqir Khan who was stationed in Multan for eight years. Regarding him, Shaikh Farid writes in *Zakhirat ul Khawannin*, "After sundry services, he was sent to Multan where he made his name in greatness, dignity and majesty. He maintained a large contingent and exacted tribute from the *Baluchis, Dudais, and Nahars* who live in large numbers (In the area) between Qandhar and Multan."[279] Mirza Anwar, too was posted as governor of Bhakkar.[280] During his governorship of Bhakkar, "there was scarcity of rain and lack of flow of the river Punjab (i.e. Indus). The *Mirza*, under the guidance of the *Zamindars* of that place, put on the dress of cultivators and started driving the plough with his own hand and his wife, the daughter of Zain Khan Koka, like rustic women carrying the jowar-bread and yoghurt on head, took the meals to her husband. At that very moment, by the generosity of the glorified lord, it rained heavily and the river Punjab was in spate. He left a good name in Sind."[281] Muhammah Hussain too had done much

[279] Shaikh Farid, *Op.cit*, p. 87.
[280] *Ibid*, p. 117.
[281] *Ibid*, p. 117.

good in the Bhakkar territory.[282] He raided the *Samejas* and married the daughter of the chief of the *Samejas* tribe.[283] In the reign of Jahangir, Quj-ali, a Turani had in his chief the Siwi and Gunjaba pargana in the dependancies of Bhakkar.[284] He governed well in the hilly tract inhabited by Baluchis and Afghans; killed so many men that if a child were to cry, the Afghans would say (to him) in their dialect, *Quch ali raghali* (i.e. Quch-ali has come); the child would immediately stop crying out of terror. he had no equal in cruelty and fearlessness.[285]

Mirza Aziz Koka was twice appointed to the governorship of Gujrat. During his second term of governorship, he moved against the Sultan Muzaffar of Gujrat and defeated him. He at that point diminished Jam and the different Zamindars of Kachh to obedience, and vanquished Somnath and sixteen other harbor towns. Jaunagarh additionally, the capital of the leader of Sorath, submitted to him and Mirza Khan and Taj Khan, children of Daulat Khan ibn-I Amin Khan-I-Ghori, joined the Mughals. Aziz gave them two jagirs. He had now sources to chase down Sultan Muzaffar, who had taken asylum with Sultan Muzaffar, who had taken shelter with the Zamindar of Dwarka. In a battle the latter lost his life, and Muzaffar fled to Kachh, trailed by Aziz. There

[282] He was brother of Baqir Khan *Najm-i-thani*, they came to India from Iran.
[283] *Ibid*, p. 125. "From her was born Mirza Tihmurath. Now in Akbarabad, Mirza Tihmurth son of Mirza Hussaini and Mirza Sanjar son of Mirza Muhammad Jafar receive daily stipends and lived there along with their father's family."
[284] *Ibid*, p.140. Quj-ali and Burj-ali were two brothers. They were pure (i.e. thorough bred Turkmen serving) in the victorious army.
[285] *Ibid*, p. 141. He had two large iron pans (*karah*) filled with water and fire kindled beneath them. Any thief or a culprit, he would tie his hand and feet and throw him into pan; he would immediately get roasted in that boiling water. He must have dispatched nearly one thousand persons of that region to the road of non-existence in this way.

likewise the Zamindars submitted, and not long after conveyed Sultan Muzaffar into his hands.[286] Under the reign of Jahangir too, Mirza Aziz was appointed to Gujrat and later on he died at Ahmedabad.[287]

Mirza Abdur Rahim was in 1576 appointed to Gujrat and was sent against Sultan Muzzafar of Gujrat. Mirza defeated Muzaffar in the battle of Sarkich and when Gujrat was finally annexed, *Khan-i-Khanan* gave his property to his soldiers, and the last soldier who came and said that he got nothing, he was given his ink stand.[288]

Similarly in Kashmir too, Irani and Turani nobles worked for the betterment of the local people. Regarding Kashmir, Abul Fazl writes in *Ain-i-Akbari*, "A country which from its inaccessibility had never tempted the former kings of Delhi. Though six or seven roads lead into Kashmir, the passes are all so narrow that a few old men might repel a large army."[289] Under Akbar, this region was brought into Mughal rule and it was a Turani Qasim Khan who was sent to achieve that purpose. However as Abul Fazl writes in *Ain-i-Akbari*, "The Kashimiris, however, are famous for love of mischief and viciousness, and not a day passed without disturbances breaking out in some part of the country."[290] So Qasim Khan tired of the never-ending exasperations, resigned his post. After him, it were mainly Iranians who were appointed to Kashmir for instance Mirza Yusuf Khan who was appointed there in 1586-87 and he

[286] Abul Fazl, *Op.cit.*, p. 344
[287] *Ibid*, p. 346.
[288] *Ibid*, p.355.
[289] Abul Fazl, *Op.cit.*, 1965, p. 412.
[290] *Ibid*.

remained there for 5 years, Khwaja Shamsuddin, and Jafar Beg Asaf Khan.[291] Mirza Yusuf who was sent to Kashmir as ruler in 32nd year, was much liked by the people of Kashmir. He had made the assessment of revenue of Kashmir to be 22 lacs *kharwars*, which was 2 lacs more than before.[292] Later on when Akbar increased the revenue assessment of Kashmir, M. Yusuf Khan refused to remain in Kashmir, and the country was made *Khalisa*.[293] Sometime after Prince Salim Request, Mirza Yusuf was reinstated. Later on in the 39th year Asaf Khan was sent to Kashmir, after the recalling of M. Yusuf Khan. He re-distributed the lands of *Jagir* holders of whom Ahmad Beg Kabuli, Hasan Arab and Muhammad Quli Afshar were the most significant. The cultivation of Za ‘faran and hunting were affirmed monopolies, and the revenue was fixed as per the evaluation of Qazi ‘Ali, i.e. at one lakh of *kharwars*, at 24 dams each. Asaf after staying for three days in Kashmir, returned to Lahore. In the 42nd year, when Kashmir had become all but desolated through the oppressions of the *Jagir* holders, Asaf Khan was made governor of the province.[294] The brother of Qasim Khan, Hashim Khan too received the fief of Kashmir under Akbar. Regarding him, Shaikh Farid mentions in *Zakhirat ul Khawannin* “A disease affected him there and the illness prolonged. Physicians were helpless in treating it. The night when he would move from this world to the eternal one, he paid the dues of the soldiers and retailers on outside and inside (duties) to their satisfaction and distributed alms to *derwishes* of that places; he showed to

[291] M. Athar Ali, *Op.cit.*, p. xxxiii
[292] *Ain*, p. 370. For this sum, Akbar handed over Kashmir to M. Y. Khan.
[293] Abul Fazl, *Op.cit.*, pp. 370 and 371.
[294] *Ibid*. p. 453.

his companions every type of consideration that was required; and he got erected *pandals* with lavish spreads at a number of places and held assemblies of saintly people, expending abundant food and many perfumes. He then first held a party of musicians and making them happy (with lavish gifts) bade them farewell. Then, gladdening the heart of his companions, he sent them out. Then going to the inner apartments, he took final leave of (his wives) consoling each one of them. After that, making the big and small persons of the city happy and giving expense-money to *darwishes*, those in charge of *khanqah* as well as those moving about in streets he held a meeting with the learned and the *hafiz* and he himself started reciting the Quran and did not utter a single word about worldly affairs. A watch was still left of the night when the state of death-agony set in; reciting the *kalma* (First Creed), he bade farewell to this transitory world in the prime of youth and beginning of his career.[295]

During the reign of Shah Jahan, Zafar Khan was posted in Kashmir from 6th regnal year and continued upto the 11th year. He again was posted in the 16th regnal year and continued upto 21st year. During his governorship of Kashmir, he laid out a garden in Kashmir called *Bagh-i-Zafarabad* and Shah Jahan in 1645, had paid a visit to this garden.[296] Commenting on this garden, Inayat Khan writes in *Shahjahannama, "Bagh-i-Zafarabad*, which was laid out by my father Zafar Khan on the margin of the Lake Jadibil overlooking the environs of the '*Idgah*. It costs three lakhs of rupees, and was constructed during the twelve years that he held the government of Kashmir. The Bagh-i-Husnabad

[295] Shaikh Farid, *Op.cit.*, p. 103.
[296] Inayat Khan, *Op.cit.*, p. 324.

was also planted by the Zafar Khan."[297] Regarding Shah Jahan's visit, to the Kashmir valley during the governorship of Kashmir, Inayat Khan further writes, "In as much as His majesty had readily perceived the happy conditions of the peasantry and inhabitants of that region under my father's administration, he graciously bestowed one lakh of rupees on him out of the funds which were due to the royal estates and raised his *mansab*, by an increase of 1,000 *suwar* to 3,000 *zat* and a like number of *suwar*.[298] Ali Mardan Khan too was posted in this region under Shah Jahan as regarding his appointment, Inayat Khan writes in *Shahjahannama*, "On the 22nd Rajab 1048 (29th November 1638), His Majesty with extreme kindness appointed 'Ali Mardan Khan- who was habituated to the climate of Iran and could not endure the burning heat of Hindustan-to replace Zafar Khan, the author's father, as governor of the delightfully cool province of Kashmir, which can only be compared to Paradise."[299]

Under Shahjahan, Islam Khan was having *jagir* in the *pargana* of Anantnag.[300] Shah Jahan on his visit to this pargana ordered to demolish an ancient temple and as the *pargana* was in the *jagirdari* of Islam Khan, he gave the appellation of *Islamabad*. Under Jahangir, elegant edifices had been erected on this lovely spot as well, by Yamin al-Daula in conformity to the late Emperor's

[297] *Ibid*, p. 127.
[298] *Ibid*, p. 324.
[299] *Ibid*, p. 252. Also see p. 256. "On the Ist of Zil-Qada 1048 (6 March 1639), the sublime standards moved from the capital of Lahore towards Kabul; and at the first stage, 'Ali Mardan Khan, after being loaded with favours received his dismissal to the pleasant valley of Kashmir."
[300] *Ibid*, p. 137. "At this place are two clear springs full of fish, which constitute the source of many other springs; and the late Emperor Jahangir's reign, villas had been built in their vicinity."

instructions.[301] Adham Khan, in the third year, was given *Hatkanth,* south-east of Agra as *Jagir,* by Bairam Khan to make sure the rebels of the *Bhadauria* clan had given much trouble. Though Bayram was alleged to be partial in conferring bad jagirs which he had not done, Adham kept the *Bhadau-riyas* best as per his capacity.[302]

Under Jahangir, in 1612, *Khan-i-Khanan* was given *jagir* in the *souba* of Agra as it is written in *Padshahnama*, "For the *Khankhanan* I ordered a *jagir* given as salary in the *souba* of Agra in the *Sarkars* of Kannauj and Kalpi so that he could chastise and extirpate the rebels and insurgents of that area. As they were given leave to depart, they were given royal robes of honour, elephants and horses."[303] Jahangir writes in *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, "Since Itibar Khan is a servant of long tenure and has become very old, I honoured him with the governorship of the *souba* of Agra and assigned him the wardenship of the fortress and treasuries".[304] After the death of Itimad ud daula, Nurjahan Jahan inherited his entire estate, and erected a wonderful pietra dura mausoleum at Agra, of white marble inlaid with rare stones, so that the cenotaph it encloses resembles a treasure chest. She also built a number of gardens, such as Nurafshan Garden on the north bank of the Jumna and the castle of Nur Mahal (1618-20).[305]

[301] *Ibid,* p. 137.
[302] *Ibid,* p. 341.
[303] *The Jahangirnama Memoirs of Jahangir, Emperor of India,* translated, edited and annotated by Wheeler M. Thackston, Oxford University Press, p.124.
[304] *Ibid,* p. 378.
[305] A.Schimmel, *Op.cit.,* p. 149.

Nasiri Khan was when appointed to Malwa, he received fief there only in Ujjain, Sarangpur, etc. regarding his appointment in Malwa, Shaikh Farid writes in *Zakhirat*, "It so happened that in the *Dakan* territory there was scarcity of grain and epidemic; a loaf of bread could be had for a soul. People of *Dakan* had to totally depend upon the grain from Malwa. Nasir Khan converted loads of grain into money. This service (of his) was liked by his Majesty, the viceregent of God and his closeness, position and respect increased further. Afterwards he was honoured with the title of *Khan-Dauran*."[306]

There were some Iranians and Turanis who were known for their destructive activities in the areas assigned to them for instance, Husayn Khan Tukaria, who during the reign of Akbar, was having *Jagir* in Lakhnauti, destroy rich temples. He focused on the idols which were made of gold in the Doab region where the rivers Yamuna and Ganga flowed. *'He had all his life coveted this place and kept his eyes set upon it as mine of gold and silver imagining in his guileless heart and visions of golden and silver idol temples and bricks of gold and silver'.*[307]

Sometimes, areas given to Iranians and Turanis as *jagirs* were taken from them due to the complaints against them, for instance, Mirza Muzaffar Hussain, who came from Qandhar and joined Akbar, was well received by the latter and was

[306] Shaikh Farid, *Op.cit.*, p. 195. The Malwa mahals were for along time given as *tankhaw* (cash salary) in the fief of Khwaja Abul Hasan Turbati, the *diwan* who had, through promises and truth (with *ryots*) made the land prosperous. When he died, the country of Malwa was assigned to crown lands and afterwards, it was granted in fief to Nasiri Khan.

[307] Harbans Mukhia, *Mughals of India*, New Delhi, 2004, p. 23.

given the title of *Farzand* and received Sambhal as *Jagir* which as Abul Fazl writes, "Which is worth than all Qandhar."[308] But later on due to the complaints of *ryots* of his *jagir* against his grasping collectors, Akbar took away the *jagir* from him.[309]

[308] Abul Fazl, *Op.cit.*, 1965, p. 328.
[309] *Ibid*, p. 328.

CHAPTER 4

Serving in the Economy, Trade, Business and Religion Sector with special reference to Sufism

The Mughal time frame starts with the clash of Panipat in 933 (A.D. 1526), in which Babar's conclusive triumph over the Lodhis made it workable for him to build up his standard at Delhi. Babar, who was dropped from Timur, was a Turk and pleased with his genealogy. He talked both Persian and Turkish, yet since the Mughals were at that point soaked with Persian culture before they came to India, it was Persian as opposed to Turkish which was the vehicle of artistic articulation. Numerous researchers and artists from Khurasan and neighboring terrains settled in India after the intrusion of Babar, and soon the Mughal court turned into the focal point of serious scholarly and social action. At the point when Babar died in 937 (A.D. 1530) he was succeeded by his child Humayun, a man of taste, of learning in science and astronomy, and the originator of the primary schools and universities in Mughal India. Humayun's rule was brief, for he was driven out by Pathan powers and constrained to take shelter in Iran. He later returned and reconquered northern India with the assistance of the Iranian monarch.

The genuine history of Mughal India starts in 963 (A.D. 1555) when Akbar, son of Humayun, ascended to the throne. His Persian instructor and guardian, Bairam Khan, consolidated Mughal rule in India while Akbar was still in his young age. Akbar had the virtuoso to join to himself numerous local Hindus of managerial experience, one of whom made the Mughal income framework

which proceeded with certain changes under the British guideline. Toward the start of the eleventh century (seventeenth century A.D.) the territory represented by Akbar was outstanding amongst other managed in the world and cultural interests prospered as at no other time.

Following fifty years of reign, Akbar was followed by Jahangir, who ruled from 1014 to 1038 (A.D. 1605-28). Shah Jahan, well known as the developer of the Taj Mahal, was ruler from 1038 until 1070 (A.D. 1628-59), when the control of the legislature was taken over by his child Aurangzeb, the remainder of the incomparable Mughal sovereigns, who kicked the bucket in 1119 (A.D. 1707). In spite of the fact that the Mughal rule persisted after Aurangzeb, it was a delayed time of deterioration, which went on until the Mutiny of 1274 (A.D. 1857).

It was under the Mughals that Muslim rule in India was at last merged. Albeit some new conquests were made in southern India, the fundamental focal point of Mughal power stayed in the north. Since they originated from Central Asia, where they were familiar with the scope of Turko-Iranian culture, the Mughals had assimilated numerous Iranian influences. Babar called himself Padishah, an Iranian title for ruler which suggested that he was not the equitable head of a couple of Turkish clans but was an absolutist Iranian sovereign. The Mughal power structure laid on a heterogeneous Muslim privileged composed of newcomers from Transoxiana (where Bukhara and Samarkand had for quite some time been centres of Arabic Islamic culture), of Iranian aristocrats looking for vocations in the recently vanquished nation, and of the Turkish and

Afghan gentry who were at that point settled in India however now expelled from power. The Mughals themselves were a minute minority, yet were able to keep up their control. For a long time immigration from Central Asia and Iran continued - until the foreign Muslim nobility in India moved toward becoming Indianized, and after that foreigners were never again welcome.

The Muslim aristocracy was primitive in character, contingent upon duties enrolled from the center and lower classes of Muslims, for the most part of a similar nationality as the medieval pioneer. Along these lines Afghans could never enroll themselves in the medieval levies as commanded by the Iranian Shi'a nobles. Along these lines dissenter and partisan patterns were encouraged among different individuals from the Muslim minority of India, the individuals on whom the Mughal control finally depended. The Mughal ruler who administered over this blended populace was a autocrat bound by no law and conceding just the slight restriction forced by the Islamic shari'a which was never permitted full influence. The sovereign could end the life and property of his nobles at whatever point he was disappointed with them, a thing which could never have been conceivable under the standard of the shari'a. In this manner the Mughal state was in no sense an Islamic state. It was basically an Iranian absolutism with a couple of Mongol and Turkish features included.

The Mughal arrangement of administration was designed on the Abbasid government as adjusted to Indian needs. The sovereign was profound and the transient leader of the state. He had a Vizier, or Chief Minister, helped by secretaries, however no bureau of priests. The head of the religious office

involved a significant position as the gatekeeper of Islamic law. He granted terrains and stipends to religious researchers, schools, and universities and was accused of the obligation of helping the penniless. The central judge was the most elevated legal official, administering the Qadis and Muftis who attempted and chose the common and criminal instances of the Hindus and Muslims. They were mainly worried about the organization of consecrated law dependent on the understandings of the four Muslim schools of law.

Literature and poetry were steadily developed under the support of the Mughal court. Mughal rulers, for example, Babar and Jahangir were themselves literary men of high differentiation, and their squires included men of extraordinary learning and gatherers of huge libraries. Persian poetry under the Mughals arrived at a high level of flawlessness with renowned Indian artists who could stand examination with the best writers of Iran. The utilization of the Persian language has left a changeless impact on Indian dialects and brought forth Urdu, one of the extraordinary dialects of India and Pakistan today. History specialists of this period composed works which are monstrously profitable wellsprings of data to researchers of current occasions. Numerous interpretations from Indian dialects into Persian were made under the support of the Mughal rulers, eminently the interpretation of the Mahabharata and Ramayana under Akbar. Akbar's interest for religion was broad to such an extent that he had the Bible converted into Persian.

The Mughal time frame was set apart by the ascent of new religious developments in Islam. When the Hindus were taking to better approaches for religious idea, the Muslims were shaken out of their laziness by the Mahdavi and Roshni developments. Sayyid Muhammad of Jaunpur, who was brought into the world around 982 (A.D. 1574), professed to be the Mahdi, the Expected One. The adherents of this development sorted out a fellowship in which all individuals enjoyed equivalent rights. Simultaneously the Roshni development emerged in Afghanistan. Albeit both of these developments made aggressor bunches in which the pioneer guaranteed worldly and profound power, they didn't leave any considerable stamps on Muslim religious idea. The Mahdavi order still exists in India and Pakistan as an irrelevant minority group.

Substantially more significant were the results of the religious contention made by the ruler himself and a portion of his subjects. Akbar accepted that he required nearer social contacts with the Hindus, for he was of the sentiment that Mughal rule in India couldn't lay for long on the opinion of the Muslim minority except if it had the help of the Hindus. This drove him to receive numerous Hindu traditions and abrogate the standard survey charge on non-Muslims. Muslim orthodoxy was solidly entrenched and Akbar's new approach began a religious battle whose impacts outlived him.

Akbar after 983 (A.D. 1575) showed interest for religious dialogs, to a great extent because of relationship with a portion of his retainers who were free-thinkers. Akbar raised an extraordinary lobby where religious talks were held with researchers and schools. The discussions proved unable, obviously, be

limited to the varying perspectives on the Sunnis and Shi'as, or the contentions of the different schools of law. Before fundamentals of religion went under exchange and Akbar felt disappointed with the current condition of religion. He at that point started to welcome individuals of all religions to partake in the exchanges. Indeed, even the Christian dads from Goa, spoken to by Aquaviva and Monserrate, came to join this discussion, yet they neglected to impact Akbar. Bit by bit he was directed to take on the position of a religious chief. He issued a pronouncement of reliability which made him the incomparable referee in issues of religion and after that went above and beyond by declaring another religion exacerbated of Muslim, Hindu and Christian components. In the new religion Akbar required the adherents to prostrate themselves before the sovereign and disallowed circumcision, precluded the utilization of hamburger, and debilitated the developing of facial hair. Eighteen of his squires joined the new religion however all the rest kept reserved. At last, Akbar accomplished just the irritation of the ulama.

Akbar's religion died with him, yet a portion of its thoughts lived and found a reverberation during the following two ages. Dara Shikoh, the son of Shah Jahan, was in his initial life impacted by the progressivism of the Sufis, as particular from the universality of the ulama, and later started to look into the Hindu religion. Under his inspiration, a few of the Hindu sacred texts were converted into Persian, and he was himself the writer of numerous books on religion, including an account of Sufis and holy people, and a treatise on the specialized terms of Hindu polytheism and their counterparts in Sufi religious

philosophy. He additionally attempted, affected by the Sufis, to land at a union which would accommodate the restriction among Islam and Hinduism. The Sufis, however huge numbers of them were standard in their practices, skirted increasingly more toward pantheistic thoughts amiable to the Indian personality. Their philosophy gave a shared conviction among Islam and Hinduism.

Such propensities prodded the orthodox party to assemble enough solidarity to assume leading role in the annihilation and death of Dara Shikoh because of his brother Aurangzeb, who was his opponent for the position of authority. Aurangzeb was to a great extent impacted by the religious thoughts of Shaikh Ahmad of Sirhind, who had great influence in restoring Muslim orthodoxy and fighting Sufi deviations from Islam. Shaikh Ahmad's son was a close aid of Aurangzeb. The response which set in following the presence of Shaikh Ahmad enlivened Aurangzeb to arrange a codification of Muslim law by uniting the dissipated components of Hanafi law found in the lawful decisions of the Muftis. This weight on the juristic part of Islam is evidently a response against the digressing Sufis and Muslim free-thinkers whose mentality toward Muslim law had loosened the obligations of social and religious discipline.

The thoughts and lessons of Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi are significant throughout the entire existence of Islam, for he has left a perpetual impact on Indian Muslim idea. Shaikh Ahmad, presently called the Twelfth Renovator, was conceived in the Punjab in 1002 (A.D. 1593). In the wake of finishing his religious instruction he joined the Suhrawardi and Chishti requests of the Sufis,

yet later he turned into an individual from the Naqshbandi request. Shaikh Ahmad rushed to see the otherworldly degeneration which had overwhelmed his peers, the Sufis just as the ulama. While the Sufis, affected by Ibn Arabi's way of thinking, had come to have faith in the teaching of the solidarity of presence and were inclined to abrogate all differentiation among God and man, the ulama were under the spell of a tight legalism which prompted relentless debates on minor purposes of law. Both, as per Shaikh Ahmad, had lost the ethical enthusiasm of Islam.

Shaikh Ahmad viewed the Sufis as more hazardous than the ulama for he unmistakably saw that every one of the decrees of religion depend on a differentiation among God and His creation. On the off chance that manifestations were incredible and God alone had presence, as Ibn Arabi kept up, at that point the requirement for religion and law evaporate, and, what is progressively significant, life and presence would move toward becoming issues of little minute. No big surprise that the Sufis looked for shelter in the principle of demolition in God, leaving commonplace issues to be taken care of by common disapproved of men. Thusly, Shaikh Ahmad set himself to discredit the way of thinking of Ibn Arabi and set forward the conflict that the spiritualist experience of the solidarity of God and the world is a figment. He insisted the presence of the world as a different substance which is the shadow of a Real Being. This way of thinking was coordinated against the pantheistic

thoughts of the Sufis, which were affected by Ibn Arabi and drew to a great extent upon Hindu sources.[310]

Shaikh Ahmad's works gained for him an impressive after, both at the Mughal court and in the military. Jahangir for a period found a way to check his unavoidable impact at the same time, looked with an uprising by one of his military boss who was a follower of Shaikh Ahmad, dealt with him. It was concurred that the majority of the non-Islamic practices received by Akbar, for example, surrender before the head and the forbiddance of hamburger, ought to be halted on the double. Jahangir thereafter turned into a dedicated devotee of Shaikh Ahmad, and in this manner Muslim universality had the option to reassert itself after a short eclipse.

Under the Mughals training relied upon private activity. The sovereigns and their nobles encouraged education by awards of land and cash to mosques, to lodges which filled in as habitations for religious preparing, and to individual holy people and researchers. The mosques constantly had elementary schools connected to them. Jahangir proclaimed a guideline that at whatever point a rich man or voyager passed on without beneficiary his property would go to the crown to be utilized for fixing madrasas and hotels. Shah Jahan established a magnificent school at Delhi and Aurangzeb established innumerable universities and schools. He gave broad awards of land and cash to build up a prospering focus of learning at Lucknow. Female training under the Mughals appears to have been kept to rich and scholarly families, particularly the

[310] Islam -- The Straight Path: Islam Interpreted by Muslims by Kenneth W. Morgan

women of the regal house, some of whom were well known for the high abstract nature of their works. Babar carried with him the Byzantine structural style, for the Turks and Turkish branches of the broke down Timurid Empire had for some time been in contact with the Greek states and the Balkan Peninsula. The students of Sinan, the Albanian engineer well known in the Ottoman Empire, found their way into the kingdoms of the Timurid rulers. Be that as it may, Babar utilized Indian stonemasons predominantly. Akbar clung to the Persian thoughts of craftsmanship which he acquired from his mom and his dad, who had lived in Persia, however his Rajput relationships pulled in him to Hindu workmanship conventions. In this way the Jahangir Mahal in Agra Fort and huge numbers of the structures of Fatehpur Sikri, his anticipated capital, show undeniable mixing of Persian and Indian craftsmanship types. Since skilled workers even from the Far East are said to have been attracted to the Mughal court and some associate with Indonesian engineering styles through abroad explorer traffic and exchange made due in the hour of the Mughals, it isn't unlikely that Indian and Indonesian Buddhist survivals left their stamp on Mughal architecture.

As the chapter focuses on Economy Trade, religious sector mainly the rise of Sufism, these factors are discussed below:

FOREIGN TRADE:

The span from 1526 to 1707 A.D. proved to be a revival for Mughals in India. Fine arts like music, sculpture, and painting experienced transcendence when

the trade and industry blossomed during this period.[311] Also, Northern India experienced profound developments in political and socio-cultural aspects after the Mughal invasion. The people of Hindustan also witnessed technological revolution that helped them have a new outlook on their economic life. This was consequential as the Sultans who followed a multi-state system of ruling were replaced by being ruled by a powerful monarch possessing a centralized political organization. At the outset of the Mughal annexation of India, from Central Asia and Persia came immigrants in huge numbers along with several celebrities to India with an aim to colonize in Delhi and other cities in the country. However, these foreigners, for the Mughals including merchants played a vital role in the stabilization of the economy and administration of the state.[312]

Throughout the ancient and medieval ages, trade in India, foreign and inland, has been in line and similarity with almost all aspects. The whole of Western and Northern India established commercial relations with West Asia, during the medieval period which expanded to the Mediterranean world including South-East Asia, Central Asia and China (both overseas and overland routes).[313]

The founder of the Mughal Empire in India, Zahiruddin Muhammad Babur who reigned from 1526-30 A.D, was apprehensive with the fact and

[311] S.S. Kulshreshtha, *Development of Trade and Industry under the Mughals* (Allahabad: 1964), p.1.
[312] Shireen Moosvi, *Production, Consumption and Population in Akbar's Time* (New Delhi: 1993), p.99.
[313] *Ibid*.

significance of foreign trade and communication system as he wanted to import reinforcements from Kabul into India on a regular basis. Therefore, after the Mughals invaded India, moving ahead every eighteen miles witnessed square towers[314] elevated and construction of *chaukis* were seen after every 36 miles which were built was a sign to develop an advanced communication system, which would subsequently assist in the growth of trade.[315] However, as an administrator, Nasiruddin Muhammad Humayun (1530-1540 and 1555-1556 A.D.) suffered with inadequate favorable chances to prove himself. Delhi was ruled by the Surs from the time when Babur died and Humayun gained entry into India. Sher Shah (1540-1545 A.D.), the founder of the Sur dynasty was a tremendous prescient and with his abilities, restructured the entire administrative system of the country.[316] He was responsible for building the Grand Trunk Road from Attock to Delhi.[317] However, during Akbar's reign the travel for men and merchandize became a lot more easier and safer.[318] This initiative of developing infrastructure such as the construction of bridges, new roads, and military posts set up for the easy mobility of the Armed forces triggered the flow of trade with foreign countries.[319] Zamindars were ordered by Nuruddin Muhammad Jahangir (1605-1627 A.D.) to plant trees on the routes (either side of the roads) between Agra and Attock, and between Agra

[314] Babur, *Tuzuk-i-Baburi*, Eng. trans., A.S. Baveridge (London: 1921), p.629.
[315] *Ibid.*, pp.629-30.
[316] Abul Khair Mohammad Farooque, *Roads and Communications in Mughal India*,(Delhi: 1977), p.10.
[317] *Ibid*., p.11.
[318] Abul Fazl, *Ai'n-i-Akbari*, Eng. trans., H. Blochmann, (Calcutta: 1868), Vol.I, p.257.
[319] Farooque, *op.cit*., p.13.

and Bengal.[320] *Zafarnama* entails the route from Multan to Delhi via Jahwal, Sahwal, Ajodhan, Samana, Tulamba, Tohana, and Panipat which Timur followed.[321]

However, the importance of the overland routes from Multan and Kashmir denigrated due to the upheaval surfacing at the frontier during the reign of Shah Jahan. This upsurge was caused by the Indo-Persian wars as Qandahar was occupied and retained which disrupted all linked trade routes.[322] Trade ruined and collapsed when Aurangzeb interminably fought battles in the Deccan causing exhaustion of the imperial treasury and bankruptcy of the administration towards the end of the seventeenth century.[323]

Exchange basis of trade was adopted with foreign countries for all the transactions. Precious metals in the form of prices were paid to the foreigners. Sufficient attention pertaining to the weights and measures was only paid by four travelers namely Tavernier, Peter Mundy, Marshal and Fryer during this period.[324] Metals of different kinds were used during that time. The example illustrating this can be ascertained by the use of money and coinage system. Indian production of gold and silver was not prominent as discovered by modern researchers. Karnataka that possesses goldmines appears to be exhausted long ago. From the Himalayan Rivers, little quantities of gold could

[320] Jahangir, *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, Eng. trans., H. Baveridge, (London: 1909), Vol.I, p.100.
[321] S.A.A. Rizvi, *Khalji Kalin Bharat* (Aligarh: 1955), p.242.
[322] T.C. Bigham, *Transportation, Principles and Problems* (Calcutta: 1968), p.11.
[323] *Ibid.*, p.12.
[324] Meera Nanda, *European Travel Accounts During the reigns of Shahjahan and Aurangzeb* (Kurukshetra: 1994), p.59.

have been retrieved but with respect to silver, no important mines were found. Consequentially, India was dependent on gold and silver imports.[325] According to Bernier, supplying itself with articles of foreign growth does not prevent Hindustan from absorbing a large portion of the world's silver and gold by means of various channels, whereas for its return, there are hardly any chances.[326] In the eleventh century, either to feed the luxuries or to mint coins, the metals obtained through foreign trade were exploited by the royalties and nobilities.[327]

The banking institution in India is one of the oldest. However, the banking in India suffered as theories based on the Islamic principles were brought in by the Muslims when they invaded India. Their principles regarded obtaining interest after selling one's property or goods a great sin. The other reasons which mainly hampered the Indian growth of commerce and trade were the wars and mutual hostilities among the Muslim nobles and rulers. This led to the deterioration of the banking sector and money lending in India.[328]

The Northern and Western part of India were adequately possessed in every aspect including internal consumption and for export. But no country on its own can fulfill its requirements. Therefore, countries between themselves resorted to making trade treaties for the upper classes. Imported articles of luxury included velvets, skills, and embroidered curtains along with items of

[325] Tapan Ray Chaudhuri and Irfan Habib, (eds.), *Cambridge Economic History of India* (London: 1982), p.189.
[326] Francios Bernier, *Travels in Mughal Empire* (Delhi: 1972), p.204.
[327] Neera Darbari, *Northern India under Aurangzeb* (Meerut: 1982), pp.218-19.
[328] Pramod Sangar, *Growth of English Trade under the Mughals* (Jallandhar: 1993), p.250.

decoration and different types of furnishings.[329] India being mainly dependent on agriculture was fairly rich in agricultural products. However, during the Mughal period India did not only export raw materials but also various commodities pertaining to export and import were dealt with. Luxury and non-luxury items are the two categories of items imported that time. Persian chroniclers and Medieval travelers left chief luxury items of imports from Persia and Central Asia namely precious stones, horses, silk and silk stuffs, furs, and slaves. Other goods also included various types of clothes, plants and herbs, fruits, gold, silver, rose water, olive oil, glass, etc.[330]

Export of a variety of articles which were in command was done not only in Persia and Central Asia, but also in European and Asian countries by India. The list of luxury goods included varieties of cloth, peacocks, elephants, pearls, tusk and horns, etc, whereas the list of non-luxury products consisted of aromatic roots, musk, spices, Indigo-cakes, dye products, cotton, iron-swords, different types of woods, fruits and dry-fruits, sugar candy and grains, etc.[331] The living style of people was greatly influenced by Gold, Silver and precious metals. The import of Gold and Silver from Persia to India has been evinced in the past and these metals gained economic importance henceforth.[332] The mention of gold being imported into Hindustan has been made by Abul Fazl in

[329] K.M. Ashraf, *Life and Conditions of the People of Hindustan* (New Delhi: 1970), p.143.
[330] *Ibid.*, p.114.
[331] *Ibid*., p.145.
[332] Hamd Allah Mustawfi, *Nuzhat al-Qulub*, Eng. trans., Guy Le Strange, (London:1919), p.222.

A'in-i-Akbari.[333] The advent of European visits to India brought in the adoption of a new beverage called *Cha'i* or Tea which saw its predominant usage in Aurangzeb's reign.

Merchants in different regions frequented a long list of the cities which were well-connected with each other through different channels and exchanged goods with important cities of Central Asia such as Kish, Balkh, Samarkand, Tirmiz, Bukhara and Kabul etc., and Persia The aforementioned towns were mainly situated in and around Transoxiana.[334] The latter from a long time had been particularly serving as a link between Central Asia and India.[335]

India neither had roads made of metal nor had any developed means of transport during the Mughal period. Its immense territory and physical features, together with threats in long adventures drove travelers to form groups of different sorts, of these the convoys were the most prevalent, while travelers shaped littler groups.[336] The parade was both the most seasoned and the most famous technique for going in enormous groups. It provided maximum security and made a significant contribution to commercial and social life.[337] Albeit Persian and Urdu sources make numerous references to the pioneers of caravans, contemporary chronicles and explorers' records say little regarding them. The pioneer of the troop called *Mir, Salar or Bakshi* was a big cheese

[333] Abul Fazl, p.138.
[334] E. Bretschneider, *Medieval Researchs* (London: 1887), p.67.
[335] *Ibid.*, p.69.
[336] Abul Khair Mohammad Farooque, *op.cit*., p.57.
[337] F.S. Manrique, *Travels of F.S. Manrique, 1629-43*, Eng.trans., Hosten, (London:1927), Vol.II, p.221.

and like the commander of a ship, he had extreme control of everything while the convoy was out on the road. Most likely he was employed by the merchants framing the caravan and these vendors ordinarily settled on significant decisions after full consultation with them.[338] The Mughals knew about the risks of travel and requested solid measures to keep up harmony and security in the Empire. William Finch (1608-11) discovered numerous guardians and police posts whose reason for existing was on counteract burglary and take care of the welfare of travelers.[339] It is not possible to have an idea whether India had a favorable balance of trade in this period, nor on the basis of the available literature one can interpret that the balance of trade was in favor of the foreign merchants. In spite of the fact that the appeal for having foreign products remained limited to the sovereigns, chiefs, some rich individuals, the common man was leading a basic life satisfying his small necessities through usage of local resources only.[340]

All through the Mughal time frame, the volume of Indian export through the north-western land routes kept fluctuating as indicated by the atmosphere of harmony or hostility among India and Persia on the subject of the ownership of Qandahar and on the relations between the Mughal government and the Portuguese.

[338] *Ibid*., p.340.
[339] William Foster, ed., *Early Travels in India (1583-1619)* (Oxford: 1921), p.144.
[340] W.H. Moreland, *From Akbar to Aurangzeb* (New Delhi: 1994), p.58.

REVENUE:

The Mughal Empire demanded resources from the people and covered almost the entire subcontinent when it was at its peak. From 1556 to 1707, during the heyday of its fabulous wealth and glory, the Mughal Empire was a fairly efficient and centralized organization, with a vast complex of money, personnel, and information apportioned to the emperor's service and his nobility.

The Mughal Empire's fiscal data is both unsystematic and sporadic. The most important and the only source is the A'in-i Akbari written by Abu'l Fazl, which is a part of the Akbarnama, written on the orders of Akbar, who wanted a record of his life and achievements. The first two volumes cover the events of his reign, and also those of his grandfather, Babur, and his father, Humayun. The Sacred Imperial Regulations is the third volume, and the main purpose was the administration, the organization of the court, the geography, the army, and the people he ruled.

The data accessible about the land revenue, collection and is deficient, and as depicted in the A'in-I-Akbari, the land revenue framework focuses just towards the eight fundamental regions of northern India, the Mughal heartlands.

The Agrarian System of Mughal India, by Prof Irfan Habib was followed in 1969 when he composed the article *"The Potentialities of Capitalistic Development in the Economy of Mughal India"* where overwhelming dependence is appeared on the book written in 1963 which makes exhausted

use of the A'in-I-Akbari for quantitative reasons. The view that private enterprise enjoys amassing which critically is feasilble just at a surplus degree of a specific extent is exhibited. On account of Mughal India for every single commonsense reason this concerned the degree of farming generation, the degree of assignment and how it was disseminated. The land income portion of the harvest changing between 33% and one half is expressed by the creator as indicated by ripeness. Over this the zamindars' offer measured ostensibly to 10% of the land revenue in northern India and 25% in Gujarat.

As indicated by Prof Irfan Habib, this entire framework prompted increasing pressure on the working class in light of the fact that the Mughal framework moved the honorability's jagirs each three or four years to avoid neighborhood power bases being developed. Thus *"individual revenue assignees could have no interest in the long-term maintenance or growth in the revenue paying capacity of any particular area."*

Part of this land revenue would remain in rural areas (shortfalls in collection, remissions, concessions and commissions etc) but the total net amount of produce lost to the countryside must have been from a quarter to a half. This was a huge drain and Prof Irfan Habib believed that the overall result was extreme poverty and immigration of the peasantry.

The Mughal-Indian economy was seen by the author as a system of direct agrarian misuse by the small ruling class. He also saw commercial activities as forced by state taxation demands - a one-way flow of commodities from

villages to towns, unlike for example China. This overall view has been very influential in the study of early-modem Indian economic history, with for example The Cambridge Economic History of India (1982) taking Prof, line to a great extent.

The Mughal economy is portrayed by Indian historians and politicians as a golden age of prosperity. As R.C. Dutt opines about the nationalist historians, he says that "India was a great agricultural and a manufacturing country during the sixteenth century."[341]

India possessed a ruling class whose extravagant life-style surpassed that of the European aristocracy. Luxury goods were produced by the Indian industrial sector which even Europe was unable to match; however it was attained by exploiting the population at a high level. The standard of living of ordinary people was much lower than those of European peasants and additionally their life expectancy was found to be not too long. The passivity of village society caused the high degree of exploitation. The social mechanism which kept the villages passive also lowered labour productivity, and provided little incentive to technical progress or productive investment.

Mughal India had a good deal to impress Western Historians. From the time of Akbar to Shah Jahan the court was one of the most brilliant in the world. The court evinced religious and cosmopolitan tolerance. The era also witnessed establishment of painting and literature along with the establishment of

[341] Dutt, R.C.: The Economic History of India 1757-1837, Government of India reprint, Delhi, 1963, p. xxv

mosques and palaces at Delhi, Agra, Lahore and Fatehpur Sikri. The nobility during that time resided in walled castles with gardens fountains, harems, and a huge company of servants and slaves. They had huge wardrobes of splendid garments in fine cotton and silk.[342]

Many handicraft industries started producing high quality jewellery, cotton textiles, silks, decorative weapons and swords in order to assist their requirements and these industries flourished in the urban places. The urban population was bigger in the Muslim period than it had been under Hindu rulers, for caste restrictions had previously kept artisans out of towns.[343] Most urban workers were Muslims.[344] The main market for these urban products was domestic, but a significant portion of textile output was exported to Europe and South-East Asia. Other export items were saltpetre (for gunpowder), indigo, sugar, opium and ginger.

According to the testimony of European travelers, some of the urban centres of Mughal India were bigger than the biggest cities in Europe at the same period.[345] Most of the luxury handicraft trades were located in cities, and there

[342] Moreland, W.H.: India at the Death ofAkbar, A. Ram, Delhi, 1962

[343] Ganguli, B.N.: Readings in Indian Economic History, Asia Publishing House,London, 1964, p. 55.

[344] Qureshi, I.H.: The Muslim Community of the Indo-Pakistan Sub-Continent (610-1947), Mouton, The Hague, 1962, p. 219: 'The courts had been great consumers of the various articles produced by Muslim craftsmen. All the finer qualities of textiles like Dacca muslin and Kashmir shawls were woven by Muslim master weavers. The manufacture of rich carpets was a Muslim monopoly. The rich brocades which had been in fashion both among men and women of means were made by Muslims. The manufacture of the more delicately finished jewellery,inlay work in silver and gold, and the creation of many articles of beauty so highly prized by the wealthy classes were almost entirely in Muslim hands.'

[345] Nehru, J.: Clive considered that Murshidabad was more prosperous than London-, Glimpses of World History, Lindsay Drummond, London, 1945, p. 417: "Clive has described the city of Murshidabad in Bengal in 1757, as a city as extensive, populous, and rich as the

was also a well established banking system for the transfer of finds fi-om one part of India to another. Guild regulation and a hereditary caste structure controlled the occupation in the urban society; however, occupational mobility was high than existing in the villages as Muslims dominated the town life, or, in some commercial areas, by Europeans.[346]

Mughal India was regarded as wealthy by some European travelers. The standard of living of the upper class was high and there were more possessions of gold and precious stones than in Europe, but evidence exists that the mass of the population were worse off than in Europe. The Mughal economy seems to have been at its peak under Akbar (1556-1605) and to have declined thereafter.[347]

Abu'l Fazl, makes reference to the lack of clothing in Bengal, 'men and women for the most part go naked wearing only a cloth about the loins'. Jute was more

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city of London, with this difference, that there are individuals in the first possessing infinitely greater property than in the last". Nehru does not give the source of this quotation from Clive which is also cited by R. Palme Dutt, "It is because of these wretched clay and straw houses that I always represent Delhi as a collection of many villages, or as a military encampment with a few more conveniences than are usually foundin such places". F. Bernier, Travels in the Moghul Empire, London, 1826, Vol. I p.281.Habib, Irfan : suggests that Agra was the biggest seventeenth-century town with a population of500,000 to 600,000. The Agrarian System of Mughal India,1556-1707, Asia Publishing House, London, 1963, p. 76.

[346] Gadgil, D. R.: There are no statistics on the size of urban population before the 1872 census when it was 10 percent of total population. Professor Gadgil suggests that the proportion was probably about the same at the beginning of British rule.

[347] Moreland, W.H.: India at the Death of Akbar, A. Ram, Delhi, 1962, for a description of living conditions at the end of the sixteenth century. Moreland suggests that the degree of exploitation increased under Jahangir and Shah Jahan, and that this had adverse effects both on economic efficiency and popular living standards. W.H. Moreland, From Akbar to Aurangzeb, Macmillan, London, 1923.

prevalent than cotton for loincloths. In Orissa 'the women cover only the lower part of the body and may make themselves coverings of the leaves of trees'.[348]

Conditions in the early seventeenth century were described by Francisco Pelsaert in a report to the Dutch East India Company which sums up his seven years in Agra in 1620-27: *"the rich in their great deluge and total power, and the utter subjection and poverty of the common people - poverty so miserable and intolerable that the life of the people could be exhibited or correctly described only as the home of stark want and the dwelling place of bitter woe ... a workman's children were inevitably obliged to follow the occupation of their father, nor could they marry anyone belonging to the other caste ... Eating meat was not prevalent there. They ate khichri, which was their monotonous daily food made of 'green pulse' mixed with rice, which was cooked with water over a little fire until the moisture had evaporated, and eaten hot with butter in the evening; in the day time they munched a little parched pulse or other grain, which they considered sufficing for their lean stomachs.[349] Their houses were built of mud with thatched roofs. Furniture was little or non-existent ... bedclothes (merely a sheet or perhaps two) were scanty, helping both as over-sheet and under; which was only helpful for the hot weather, but not for the bitter cold nights."[350]*

[348] Ain-i-AkbariofAbu'lFazl-i-Allami, Vol. II, Calcutta, 1949, pp. 134 and 138.

[349] Moreland, W.H.: The Mughal Economy and Society Chapter 2 of Class Structure and Economic Growth: India & Pakistan since the Moghuls Maddison (1971)p.2

[350] See the translation by W.H. Moreland and P. Geyl, Jahangir's India, Heffer, Cambridge, 1925, pp. 60-1

The individual abilities and achievements of the early Mughals - Babur, Humayun, and later Akbar plotted their rule. Humayun and Babur fought back against heavy odds to develop the Mughal domain, while Akbar provided conceptual framework for an Indian state along with expanding and consolidating its frontiers. Akbar condemned bigotry and narrow-mindedness, engrossed Hindus in the high ranks of the nobility, and encouraged the tradition of ruling through the local Hindu landed elites.

Akbar acquired a hierarchal arrangement of land income that had been creating since the foundation of the Sultanate in the twelfth century. In the land income framework, the sultan's relationship to the chieflains relied upon consistent military intimidation for expense income. This circumstance sustained a power battle between the state's endeavors for a solidification of intensity and the chieftains' craving for regional self-sufficiency. Akbar saw the wastefulness of the current duty income framework and looked to change it in a manner that would legitimize the state, finishing the requirement for military intimidation while proceeding to request from chieftain's acknowledgment of the focal government's predominance, the loyal transmit of assessment income, and the rendering of military assistance.[351]

The endeavors towards developing a serviceable income settlement between the State and the laborers can be followed to the period of Turko-Afghan principle in India, around 1300 AD when Diwani-I-Amir Kohl (Department of Agriculture during the rule of Sultan Muhammad Bin Tughlug) and Diwan-I-

[351] Moreland, .W. H.: From Akbar to Aurangzeb, Macmillan, London, 1923, pp. 195-7.

Mustakhraj (for example Branch of Land Revenues) were during the standard of Ala-ud-commotion Khilji were set up. The Khilji ruler isolated the property rights/residency into tree classes:

- Khalsa or Crown-Lands
- Muqta or lands granted to followers and officers for the life time of the grantee
- Iqta or lands granted to followers and officers from certain years

The ruler additionally gathered Khiraj or land charge from the Hindu chiefs. The state requested half of the gross produce of lands (as the rate of income) and kept up price control on a wide range of rural produce. The State additionally advanced the export of agrarian products viz., indigo-cakes, ginger, cotton, grain, sugar and so on, other than cotton textile.[352]

At the time Akbar rose the position of authority as leader of the Mughal Empire, he acquired a land income framework that did not have extraordinary impact upon the nearby economy. He did, be that as it may, comprehend the capacities of the land income framework started by earlier Indo-Muslim systems, for example, the ruler Sher Shah Sur. As opposed to attempt to make another income framework, Akbar utilized the assistance of his consultants to change this one.[353] Akbar's financial changes had the managerial reason for

[352] Ahmad, I: "The Ashraf-Ajlaf Dichotomy in Muslim Social Structure in India', The Indian Economic and Social History Review, September 1966.

[353] G.B. Malleson, Rulers of India: Akbar, (Oxford, 1899) 185. The system had existed under the prior Muslim ruler Sher Shah Sur, the details of which are not given by any of the sources I read which led me to refrain from an analysis of Akbar's reforms to the existing system.

settling the town level laborer populace while solidifying territorial guideline legitimately under his order. It was basic that Akbar make a land income framework and organization that gave the presence of a strong focal government all together for the majority of his subjects to irrefutably see Akbar and the Mughals as real rulers. Akbar's arrangements show how significant Akbar thought about help from all classes of the populace—not simply from the decision class—so as to legitimize his standard inside the domain. The reconstructions of the land income framework included redesigning the majority of the Mughals' property and redressing the intrinsic debasement of the framework.[354]

During the rule of Emperor Akbar around 1570 AD, an intricate arrangement of land the executives and income appraisal was advanced. In light of the rights to place that is known for different sorts, lands were partitioned into 3 classes:

- *Khalsa* or Crown lands
- *Jagir* /ands enjoyed by some nobles who collected the local revenues out of which they sent a portion to the Central exchequer and kept the rest for themselves
- *Sayurghal* lands granted on free tenure

Regular survey of the land and assessment was made *"with reference to the area and quality of land".* Assessments were fixed annually on the basis of production and statistics of prevailing prices, and the demands of the State thus

[354] Alam, Muzaffar andSanjay Subrahmanyam. :The Mughal State 1526 - 1750. New Delhi: Oxford University Press Inc., 1998.

varied from year to year. In 1582 AD, Todar Mall, Diwan-i-Ashraf (Minister of Revenue) introduced a "regulation" system of revenue collection which had the following main features:

• Classification of land

• Survey and measurement of land

• Fixation of rates[355]

Lands were deliberately surveyed, and for the measurement the old units (whose length fluctuated with the change of season) were replaced by the Ilahi gaz or yard, which was equal to about 33 inches, tanabs or tent-rope, which assured a constant measure.[356]

Akbar started by renaming all land property into five classes dependent on the richness of the soil. Under the new guideline land charge framework, majestic revenue authorities, hypothetically, assembled writes about the status of the development of every peasant in village. From the reports, they surveyed duties dependent on the recorded costs and yields specific to every area. In 1580, Akbar and his consultants succeeded in the redesign of the domain on the common degree of the expense income framework with the foundation of twelve areas. [357] Every territory, by majestic pronouncement, was to have its own administration, comprising of seven posts who were the two functionaries of the area and individuals who answered to the focal organization, too. The

[355] Eaton, Richard M.: India's Islamic Traditions, 711-1750. New Delhi: Oxford University Press Inc., 2003.
[356] Ibid
[357] Ibid

governors had military power over the district, yet not authoritative free rule. Through this division among common and military expert, Akbar had started to confine the autonomy of the provisional governors.

• *Polaj* or land capable of being annually cultivated

• *Parauti* or land kept fallow for some time to recover productive capacity

• *Chachar* or land that had lain fallow for 3 to 4 years

• *Banjar* or land uncultivated for 5 years or longer.[358]

Only the area actually cultivated was assessed and in order to ascertain the average produce, in respect of each class of land, the mean of 3 grades in which it was divided, was taken into consideration. The demand of the State was fixed at 1/3 of the actual produce which the peasant or *ryots* could pay either in cash or in kind. The cash rates varied according to crops.[359] This revenue system was slightly modified for application to the Deccan Plateau and was better known as *'"Rayatwari"*, that is, the actual cultivators of the soil were the persons responsible for the annual payment of the fixed revenue. The services of officers viz., Amins, Maqadams, Shiqdars, Qanungos and Patwaris.[360]

The crops were broadly divided into rice zones and wheat and millet zones. In the eastern states, southwest coast, and Kashmir, rice was predominantly used. Aside from its original home in Gujarat, it had spread also to the Punjab and

[358] Streusand, Douglas E.: The Formation of the Mughal Empire. New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1989. p. 113.
[359] Eaton Richard M.: India's Islamic Traditions, 711-1750. New Delhi: Oxford University Press Inc., 2003
[360] Ibid

Sind with the aid of irrigation. Wheat was grown all over its "natural" region of north and central India. Millets were cultivated in the wheat areas and in the drier districts of Gujarat and Khandesh as well.[361]

Cotton, sugarcane, indigo, and opium were major cash crops; the last two have since passed out of cultivation, introduced by the Portuguese, cultivation of tobacco spread rapidly. The Malabar Coast was considered as a home to robust spices, particularly black pepper which invigorated the first European adventures in the East. Import of Coffee was done from Abyssinia and by the end of the century, gained popularity as a beverage in the aristocratic circles and was to become the common man's drink in the future. Though Tea was growing wild in the hills of Assam, was yet undiscovered. In the vicinity of towns, vegetables were grown. Papaya, pineapple, and cashew nut were introduced as new species of fruit by the Portuguese. The quality of mango and citrus fruits was greatly improved.[362]

Cattle continued to be important for draft and milk. According to a Dutch observer, however, the cows gave far less milk than in his country. Land use never became as intensive as in China and the Far East, although, as noted by Megasthenes, double (and even triple) cropping was fairly common in regions favoured with irrigation or adequate double rainfall. Though the population

[361] A 'in-i-Akbari, pp. 359-63
[362] A 'in-i-Akbari, pp. 441-55

must have mcreased many times over since Mauryan times, in the 17th century virgin land was still abundant; peasants were scarce.[363]

Irrigation from wells, tanks, and canals, however, had greatly expanded. Some new water-lifting devices—such as the sacra, or Persian wheel, which consisted of a series of leather buckets on an endless rope yoked to oxen—had been adopted and are still widely used.[364]

The plough was the principal implement for tillage. Drawn by oxen, the traditional Indian plough has never had a wheel or a mould board. A wedge-shaped block of hardwood penetrates the soil. The draft pole projects are in front, where it is attached to the neck yoke of the bullocks. A short, upright stilt in the rear serves as a guiding handle. The point of the wedge, to which an iron share may or may not be attached, does not invert the soil. Some ploughs are so hght that the cultivator can carry them daily on his shoulder to and from the fields. Others are heavy, requiring teams of four to six pairs of oxen. Levellers and clod crushers, generally consisting of a rectangular beam of wood drawn by bullocks, are used to smooth the surface before sowing. Among hand tools, the most common is the *kodali,* an iron blade fitted to a wooden handle with which it makes an acute angle.[365]

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[363] Ibid

[364] Habib, Irfan.: op.cit, p. 53 makes the point that there was probably more pasturage, more cattle manure, milk and ghi per head in the seventeenth century than there is now. For Europeanl5milk yields from the sixteenth century onwards, see B.H. Slicher van Bath, op. cit.,p. 335.

[365] Singh, Abha: 'Irrigating Haryana: The Pre-History of the Western Yumuna Canal', Medieval India -1

Drill sowing and dibbling (making small holes in the ground for seeds or plants) are old practices in hidia. An early 17th-century writer notes that cotton cultivators "push down a pointed peg into the groimd, put the seed into the hole, and cover it with earth, therefore it grows better." A bamboo tube attached to the plough was another simple device that was used. The seed was dropped through the tube into the furrow as the plough worked and was covered by the soil in making the next furrow.[366]

Operations of reaping, threshing, and wiimowing have continued to be performed almost exactly as described in the Vedic texts. Thus, grain is harvested with a sickle. It is bound in bundles and threshed by bullocks treading on it or by hand pounding. To separate the grain from the chaff, it is either sieved with sieves made of stalks of grass or of bamboo, or it is winnowed by pouring by hand at a height from a *supa* (winnowing scoop). The grain is then measured and stored. The sickle, sieve, and *supa* remain today as they were more than two millennia ago.[367]

Peasants felt convenience when Akbar made efforts to develop a revenue schedule to be profitable to the state but it took two decades to be executed. In 1580, the statistics of the last 10 years' local revenue which entailed price fluctuations and productivity, and averaged the produce of different crops and their prices was obtained by Akbar. Also, a permanent schedule circle by

[366] Halcott, Thos: 'On the Drill Husbandery of Southern India', Dharampal, Indian Science and Tecnology in Eighteen Century, Hyderabad reprint (1983).pp.257-61.
[367] Singh, Abha: 'Irrigating Haryana: The Pre-History of the Western Yumuna Canal', Medieval India -1

grouping together the districts having homogeneous agricultural conditions was evolved. He discouraged the use of hemp rope in favor of producing effective methods for measuring land area by using lengths of bamboo combined with iron rings. The revenue ranged from one-third to one-half of production value and was fixed according to the cultivation continuity and quality of soil and was payable in copper coin *{dams).* The peasants thus had to enter the market and sell their produce in order to meet the assessment. This system, called *zabt,* applied in North India and in Malwa and parts of Gujarat. The earlier practices were in vogue in the empire such as crop sharing. The new system encouraged rapid cash nexus and economic expansion. Moneylenders and grain dealers became increasmgly active in the countryside.[368]

Two different and the same time effective systems of administering a large territory and incorporating various ethnic groups into the service of his realm were done by Akbar. He obtained local revenue statistics for the previous decades for understanding reasons and details of low or high productivity and varying price fluctuation of different crops in 1580. Aided by Todar Mai, a Rajput king, Akbar issued a revenue schedule that the peasantry could tolerate while providing maximum profit for the state. Revenue demands equally ranged from one-third to one-half of the crop which were fixed according to local conventions of quality of soil and cultivation and were paid in cash. Zamindars were heavily relied upon in terms of land-holding by Akbar. Local knowledge and influence to collect revenue along with transferring it to the

[368] Eaton, Richard M.: India's Islamic Traditions, 711-1750. New Delhi: Oxford University Press Inc., 2003.

treasury was implemented and also retaining a portion for services rendered in return was practiced. Within his administrative system, ranks *(mansabs)* were awarded to the warrior aristocracy *{mansabdars)* who expressed the possession of numbers of troops, indicating pay, obligations and armed contingents. The warrior aristocracy was paid from revenues obtained from transferrable and non-hereditary *jagirs* (revenue villages).

An astute ruler who genuinely appreciated the challenges of administering so vast an empire, Akbar introduced a policy of reconciliation and assimilation of Hindus (including Maryam al-Zamani), who represented the majority of the population. Hindu chiefs were recruited and rewarded highest ranks in government; intermarriages between Mughal and Rajput aristocracy was encouraged; new temples were allowed to be built; Akbar participated and celebrated Hindu festivals such as Diwali, or Dipavali, the festival of lights; and abolished *the j'izya* (poll tax) imposed on non-Muslims during the reign of the Tughlaqs. Akbar was farsighted and developed his own way of ruling and administration such as *"rulership as a divine illumination,*" enshrined in his new religion *Din-i-Hahi* (Divine Faith), which encouraged the principle of acceptance of all sects and religions. Widow marriage, discouragement of child marriage, abolishing the practice of sati, and setting up of special market days for women who were not able to socialize and this was persuaded on the Delhi merchants by Akbar. By the end of Akbar's reign, the Mughal Empire expended towards the Northern India of the Godavari River. The exceptions

were Gondwana in central India, which paid tribute to the Mughals, and Assam, in the northeast.[369]

Taxes were collected from village communities and not from individual cultivators.

Another reform, one which shocked the upper rung of the Muslim hierarchy, was the re-examination of all religious land grants. Akbar analyzed each grant and reassessed them personally. For these re-examinations, Akbar arranged private interviews with the shaikhs and ulemas (leaders of Sufi brotherhoods and scholars) to decide whether each land grant was valid. He upheld the validity of many land grants if he was satisfied, but those religious leaders who had disciples, held spiritual soirees, or claimed to have accomplished miracles were punished by a withdrawal of their grants.[370] The reassessment of all land grants shows that Akbar wanted to establish from the beginning of his rule the idea that he kept close watch over the religious Muslim authorities, the shaikhs and ulemas. Akbar's control of the Muslim officials demonstrates the sultan's commitment to establishing Mughal legitimacy in Hindustan and to separating himself from the corrupt, dysfunctional elements of a Muslim-run empire.

The greatest improvement to the administration and land revenue system was the development of the Mansabdari system, which created a hierarchy of officials, all of whom were exclusively loyal to the sultan. This new system for administration was meritocratic and not based on a religious aristocracy.

[369] Moosvi, Shireen: The Economy of the Mughal Empire, p.44.
[370] Gupta, S. P.: The Agrarian System, pp. 60-62.

Previously, the Muslims in India formed the governing class fi-om which all high officials were drawn. However, Akbar ended Muslim superiority in his empire by choosing men on merit, rather than on the basis of kinship, religion, or nepotism, including many very able non-Muslims.[371] The admission of Hindus into the administration of the empire and giving them high post was a form of tokenism. Their elevated stature would allow other Hindus who came to court to recognize Akbar's superiority, as Hindus would already be standing near him. It also expressed to every person that the Mughal Empire was not subject to a harsh, fundamentalist Muslim rule, but was subject to the goal of the equality of all of its subjects.

The hierarchal system of imperial rank existed in Akbar's Mughal lineage, but he viewed it as inefficient for his ideal administration. Babur was the first to bring this Mongol system to the Indian subcontinent. With the exception of the numerical rank, his system had a division between high officials, labelled "great Begs", and lower officials, "Begs".[372] All of Babur's officials were members of a regular service, which had formal appointments and promotions, as well. Mirroring the formality of the regular service system before him, Akbar's Mansabdari system also sought to distinguish levels between rank holders. Akbar differed from Babur's system, however, as he was the first of his

[371] Husain, Iqbal: "Akbar's Farmans - A Study in Diplomatic," in Akbar and His India, ed. Irfan Habib, 75 (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1997).
[372] Syed Giasuddin Ahmed, "A Typological Study of the State Functionaries under the Mughals, "Asian Profile, 10, no. 4 (1982): 339.

Mughal lineage to create the dual status of a separate civil and military rank for each rank holder.[373]

The thousands of Zamindars in the empire had a very important relationship with Akbar. The term Zamindar was coined by the Mughals and referred to the "various holders of hereditary interests, ranging fi-om powerful, independent, and autonomous chieftains to petty intermediaries at the rural level." [374] Formidable power was exercised by the Zamindars with respect to empowering the economic life of the country, including agricultural production, trade and handicrafts.[375] The empire's economy was maintained at the rural level and collected revenue for either a jagirdar or, in certain cases, the imperial treasury.

Douglas Streusand has referred to Akbar's relationship to the village level of his empire as the "Akbari Compromise."[376] Streusand's interpretation builds on the idea that Akbar wanted to run the empire with a focus on individual households, achieving this through central officials reporting directly to him on the status of the people. However, he quickly discovered the central administration could not penetrate into the village level due to the long existing regional system of rule backed by a loyal armed peasantry. Therefore, Akbar abandoned his dream of a fully centralized administration and entered into a compromise of keeping the regional rulers in similar positions as they were prior to his rule. It was claimed by Streusand that the adjustment made by

[373] Moreland, 220.
[374] Ibid
[375] Hasan, S. Nurul "Zamindars under the Mughals," in The Mughal State 1526-1750, ed. Muzaffar Alam and Sanjay Subrahmanyam, 268 (New Delhi: Oxford,1998).
[376] Ibid p 284.

regional rulers where there was no need to fear from being deprived of their position as long as the trust of the sultan is maintained and who does not misuse his authority by being untrustworthy to him.[377]

The system of regional control was made effective by Akbar as a lucrative policy of admission for his rivals into the Mughal hierarchal administration was formulated by him. He was the first ruler to realize the importance of forging links between the position of the sultan and the chieftains by incorporating them into the imperial hierarchy of administration.[378] Akbar imderstood that military coercion was not the right method for consolidation. He obtained the empire's revenue through aggressive diplomacy designed to reduce the chieftains' status to intermediaries for the empire, for which they would receive just compensation. The first step in the reductive process was the introduction of the same generic term (zamindar) to refer to all of the holders of widely varying types of landed interests. In doing this, Akbar destroyed the pre-existing hierarchy on the local level, as all persons who were previously in that hierarchy were now equal in the community. From autonomous chieftains to village heads, all possessed the same rank in the view of the Mughal Empire.[379]

Akbar did not hesitate to use force to establish his supremacy over some staunch opponents, although diplomacy was preferred. During the beginning of his rule, he would conquer his opponents by whatever means necessary, which

[377] Streusand, Streusand, Douglas E. The Formation of the Mughal Empire. New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1989. 170-171.
[378] Ibid
[379]. Hasan, S. Nurul "Zamindars under the Mughals," in The Mughal State 1526-1750, p. 286.

included personally leading his army on campaigns of bloody battles and sometimes enduring long devastating sieges. The power of Akbar and his empu-e came fi-om one important fact: he always won. Later in his rule, many opposing chieftains began to understand the extent of his power, receiving the positive benefits of his incorporation policy by conceding to him without much bloodshed. In Akbar's policy of incorporation, a chieftain's submission brought the possibility for advancement within the imperial bureaucracy.[380]

The usual appointment of chieftains was to mansabdars who were allowed to rule their territory much in the same way as before.

The new treatment of the chieftains made them depend on Akbar's goodwill for their positions, as opposed to their prior hereditary rights. This dependency for their livelihood, combined with the Mughal-reserved right to transfer officials, meant that the sultan effectively had full control over the former chieftains' territory.[381] Akbar was the first foreign ruler of Hindustan to make a direct relationship with the vassals. Prior hido-Muslim rulers only tried to control the various levels of chieftains, without attempting to penetrate deeper into the multi-layered agrarian system.[382] Akbar forged new relationships on the local level in an attempt to undermine the power of formerly autonomous chieftains

[380] Ibid
[381] Streusand, Douglas E. The Formation of the Mughal Empire. New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1989. 113.
[382] Hasan, S. Nurul: "Zamindars under the Mughals," in The Mughal State 1526-1750, p. 287.

and to form new allies who would act as imperial spies for the welfare of the state.[383]

Akbar's actions on the village level demonstrate his concern for legitimizing the Mughal Empire to all of his subjects, not just to the bureaucracy. He created a system which ventured deep into the local sphere in order to discover how his policies were being implemented. His generous policy of incorporation left prior autonomous rulers with a comfortable position in the Mughal administration, allowing them to rule over their regions with few changes apart from slightly less power and a new allegiance. As long as they identified themselves as part of the Mughal Empire, prior chieftains were allowed to prosper along with it.[384]

ADVENT OF ISLAM IN INDIA

The Arabs had business relations with southern India sometime before Islam, and their trade via ocean proceeded - alongside evangelist action - after the presence of the Holy Prophet. The Muslim Arabs originally chose the Malabar coast around fifty years after the Hijrah, at the part of the arrangement century A.D., when South India was upset by religious clashes and political flimsiness. Islam with its effortlessness of faith and lucidity of doctrine, established a connection on the Hindu mind, and inside the initial 25 years a considerable lot of the individuals, including the King of Malabar, had acknowledged the new religion.

[383] Hasan, S. Nurul: "Zamindars under the Mughals," in The Mughal State 1526-1750, p 286.
[384] Ibid, 288.

Although the trade by sea continued, the route by which Islam came to India was overland through Central Asia and Iran. For convenience in discussing the rise of Muslim culture in Pakistan and India we may divide the history into four periods: the period before the Mughals; the Mughal rule of almost two centuries; the period of disintegration; and the past century, which includes the British rule and the creation of Pakistan.

Religious Condition in India during the Mughal Period

Islam when first was known in India, Hinduism was more in dernier. Hinduism by this time had debased itself. Superstitious rituals, beliefs and sacrifices had blindfolded the Indian society and Hinduism had declined in its form. The society saw Brahmans and caste system coming to power and rigidity in rituals and customs was evinced. The people belonging to the lower classes were ill-treated being called as untouchables and secluded from society. However, Hinduism and Islam had opposite practices and Islam did not practice orthodoxy and superstition. Islam only preached about brotherhood, equality, and oneness or unification of God. There were no such precepts or rule in Islam during that period. It therefore, abided by a democratic organization and a simple doctrine.

The political structure of the country remained the same during the advent of Islam. On the other hand, it challenged the social pattern of society. When the pattern of the society was challenged, the society reformed when intellectuals introduced the Bhakti movement and the Sufi movement stating a secular

approach towards all religions and sects. The movements were a revolution as the reform was based on the principle that God was supreme, all men were equal for Him and towards achieving salvation, Bhakti or devotion to Him was the key.

RISE OF ISLAM AND SUFISM

When the Muslims first came to India in the eighth century (8^{th}) A.D., they came in as traders. The socio-cultural environment of India fascinated the Muslims and which is why they determined to invade India and make the place their home. The traders who came to India from Central and West Asia carried back with them traces of Indian science and culture. As a result they became cultural ambassadors of India by disseminating this knowledge to the Islamic world and from there to Europe. As time passed, the immigrant Muslims interfered into the matrimonial alliances or issues of the local people and developed a culture to live with others in harmony. Ideas and customs were collectively and mutual exchanged and discussed which proved to be good for the society during that period. The way of speaking, dressing, mannerism, intellectual pursuits and customs was blended of the Hindus and Muslims and they influenced each other effectively. Islam, religion followed by the Muslims saw a great impact on the Indian society and culture.

Prophet Mohammad preached Islam in the seventh century A.D. in Arabia. Prophet Mohammad was born in AD 571 in Arabia and belonged to the Quraysh tribe. In A.D. 622, the Prophet migrated from Mecca to Madina which

marked the advent of the Hijira Era which was to be followed by the Muslims. Quran is the message given by Allah for his devotees to follow as a belief followed by the Muslims. This message is believed to have been revealed to Mohammad through his lucifer (archangel) named Gabriel. The Quran has been translated into various other languages across the world.

Islam comprises five fundamental principles which must be abided by those who believe in Islam. The same are mentioned below:

(1) Tauhid (belief in Allah)

(2) Zakat (giving of alms)

(3) Haj (pilgrimage to Mecca)

(4) Namaz (prayers, five times a day)

(5) Roza (fasting in the month of Ramzan)

The sayings and preaching of Prophet Mohammad are preserved and retained in the Hadith or Hadees which means the reports of statements or actions by Mohammed. The Caliphate was established following the death of the Prophet. Four pious Caliphs prevail according to Islam.

Islam only preached equality among people, the existence of one God and brotherhood. The traditional pattern of Indian society witnessed changes brought in due to the arrival of Islam. When equality and the One God principle was preached in the society, the rise of Bhakti and the Sufi movements introduced by great reformers and intellectuals contributed

immensely towards the development of the society and its enlightened thoughts. Equally, the Bhakti and the Sufi movements accepted that God is supreme, all humans are equal, and devotion to God is the only way to achieve salvation.

Rise of Sufism

Sufism is a term commonly used for Islamic mysticism. The word Sufism is derived from the word 'Suf' which in Arabic means 'coarse wool'. Some scholars believe that the term sufi comes out of the Arabic word safa which means purity.[385] The Sufis generally used to wear garments made of Suf or coarse wool, which according to them was a legacy of the prophets, and thus came to be known as Sufis. Most of the early Sufi saints were individuals of deep devotion who condemned the vulgar display of immorality and wealth among Muslims following the organization of the Islamic Empire of the Umayyid Caliphate. The Sufis propagated the gospel of humanity and stood for peace and harmony. They were characterized by their attachment to 'dhikr'(the practice of repeating the name of God) and asceticism.

To enter the way of Sufism, the seeker begins by finding a teacher who has received the authorization to teach or 'ijazah', in an unbroken succession of saints leading back to the Prophet Mohammad.[386] These teachers renounced the world and devoted themselves to the service of God. The Sufis were broadly

[385] http://egyankosh.ac.in/bitstream/123456789/38181/1/Unit-2.pdf
[386] Dr. Nasir Raza Khan (2015), Sufism in India and central Asia: A brief analysis, International Journal of Applied Research; 1(4): 92-94, ISSN Print: 2394-7500, ISSN Online: 2394-5869

divided into two groups, - a) Ba-shara or those who followed the Islamic Law or Shariat; b) Be-shara, or those who were not bound by Islamic Law. In their spiritual quest they were not alone but shared the philosophy of mystical traditions found in other religions such as Christianity, Judaism, Hinduism and Buddhism. The tenth century witnessed a new phase in the history of Islam marked by the formation of orthodox schools based on the Quran and the Hadis, on the one hand and the rise to prominence of the Sufi mystic orders.

Pertaining to the religious outlook, the Sufis were very liberal in their thoughts and ideas. The unity of all religions was believed to be important for the integration of the society. Spirituality was preached through music by Sufis and doctrines that professed union with God was expressed in terms of verses of music. Iran was the place where Sufism originated but a convivial atmosphere was only found in India where Sufism got its ground for its ornamentation under the Turkish rule. Hindus were mainly attracted to Islam on the whole and Sufis as the Sufis possessed a sense of tolerance, piety, sympathy, concept of equality and friendly attitude towards the lower classes. This proved that the Sufis believed in respecting and paying reverence to all human beings.[387]

In India, the Chishti silsilah established by Khwaja Moinuddin Chishti was essentially Indian. He came to India after the battle of Tarain in the year 1192 and settled in Ajmer, because it was a small town and was away from the centre of political activity in Delhi. His main object was to help Muslims to

[387] Raziuddin, Aquil (2010), Sufism and Society in Medieval India, New Delhi, India: Oxford University Press, 2010. Pp. xxiv, 184

lead a life of devotion to God. The Chishti influence in Delhi was firmly established by Qutbuddin Bakhtyar Kaki. Sufi saints such as Moinuddin Chisti, Nizamuddin Auliya, Fariduddin Ganj-e-Shakar were the pioneer sufïs who are still loved, respected and honoured in India.

Chishti Sufis had some practices of their own which were not followed particularly by other Sufi orders. They never tried to consort with the kings and royal officers. Secondly they did not earn their livelihood. Futuh or wilful or unasked charity which was given to them was the only source of their livelihood. The Chishti Sufis liked Shama or devotional music. Their hospice or khanqua was open to the common man, poor and rich, who could sit and dine with the Sufis. The Sufis believed in the philosophy of 'Hamma az Usht'. It means that everything is from Him. He means the Almighty God. They advised devotees not to accumulate money beyond their daily needs. Honesty and fair dealing in business was emphasized. The values of forbearance, avoiding anger or causing hurt to others and a policy of love and tolerance were stressed.

The sufis were also impacted by the Buddhist monks and Christians with respect to building their dargahs and khanqahs. Khanqah are the institutions (abode of Sufis) built by the Sufis in northern part of India which spread Islam to the countryside. Takias (resting places of Muslim saints) and Mazars (tombs) equally became the centers for the propagation, preaching and discussion of

Islamic ideas.[388] Both the aristocrats and the common people patronized the idea of Islam and Sufism. Some of the major Sufi traditions in India were the Qadri, Suhrawardi, Naqshbandi, Madari, Firdausi, Shattari and a few minor traditions.

The Qadri tradition of Sufism was founded by Abdul Qadir Gilani who lived in Baghdad, the capital of present Iraq. It was brought to India by a Sufi, Abdul Karim Jilji, in 1388. The real founder of this tradition of Sufism in India was Syed Muhammad Ghaus Al Qadri, who had settled in Uch, from where this order spread to other places in India including Bihar and Bengal. These two places in eastern India are very famous particularly for the Qadri tradition.

The founder of the Suhrawardi tradition in India was Bahauddin Zakariya. Hamid-ud-din Nagori, Jalal-ud-din Tabreji and some others were the other prominent Sufis of the Suhrawardi tradition. They maintained independent views regarding secular and religious problems in the society. They maintained very good relations with the kings and officials. They believed that this world and the attributes of this world, whatever had been created by God on this earth, are for the use of the human being. The Suhrawardis opposed some of the Hindu practices adopted by the Chishtis, such as bowing before the sheikh, presenting water to visitors and tonsuring the heads of new entrants to the mystic order. They were also keen on conversions.

[388] Chandra, Medieval India, p.237.

The Shattari order was popular among the common people. The term 'Shattari' has come from the Arabic word 'Shattr' means to move very quickly. This Sufi order was founded by Shah Abdulla Shattari. The Shattari order believed in practices which were very common to the Hindu practices in India. The practices of the Hindu yogis were very similar to the Shattari practices.

The practices of the Madari Sufi order resembled those of the Hindu yogis. They used to rub ashes on their body. They used to perform yoga and used to wear black turbans and have black flags in their hands. They did not observe fast and they seldom offered prayers or namaz. Badi-ud-din Madar in Kalpi was the exponent of this Madari Sufi order in India.

The Naqshbandi Sufi order was founded by Khwaja Maha-ud-din Bukhari. This Sufi tradition became popular in India particularly during the Mughal period. Khwaja Mohammad Baqi Billa was the person who brought this Sufi order to India during the Mughal Emperor Akbar's reign. Khwaja Baqi Billa died in the year 1603. The other leading Sufis of this order were Sheikh Abdul Haq Dehlavi and Khwaja Sheikh Ahmad Sirhindi, both being very famous.

So far as this Naqshbandi Sufi order is concerned it was very different from the other Sufi silsilahs in India. They were different in the sense that they stressed on the orthodox interpretation and its application so far as the canons or shariat of Islam was concerned. The Naqshbandis propounded a new philosophy that was known as Wahadatul Shahood which means the experience of Divine God in the heart on the basis of ecstasy.

Many Sufis had accompanied Muslim invaders during their conquests in India which brought them into contact with Hindu saints. In India the Sufi movement began as a response to the increasing materialism pervading the Muslim society under the growing influence of the Muslim rulers all over the country. The Sufis stressed on harmony in the society and also harped on the unity of human beings. The Sufis were organized by or followed religious orders or silsilahs.[389] These silsilahs were given the name after their founders such as Suhrawardi, Chishti, Naqshbandis and Qadi (as discussed above). There were fourteen silsilahs in the sixteenth century India according to Abul Fazl who authored Akbar's Ain-i-Akbari. Each order prescribed by the silsilahs had their own khanqahs, which were shelters for the Sufi saints which developed later as a centre of learning.

Nagaur, Ajmer, and Ajodhan or Pak Pattan (which is located in present day Pakistan) came to be known as important centers of Sufism. The tradition of piri-muridi, (teacher and the disciple) was also started and was being passionately followed. Therefore the connection between the disciples or 'murids' and teacher or 'pir' was important in the Sufi system. The sufis listened to poetry and music (sama) which were originally written in Persian in order to attain a state of mystical ecstasy, but it was later translated to Hindustani or Hindawi. The self-surrender unto God and unity of God was preached in the same way as the votaries of the Nïrgun Bhakti movement preached to the fellow Indians. Irrespective of language, as Music has the

[389] Chandra, Medieval India, p.239-40. For information about individual sufi saints of south asia see N.Hanif, Biographical Encyclopaedia of Sufis; South Asia, New Delhi, 2000.

power to attract anybody, sufi music attracted Hindus, following which the Hindus started visiting the dargahs which were constructed by the Muslims. Sufism had such a great impact on the Hindus that the preaching of Sufis became visible and prevalent in the form of siddhas and yogic postures in the Indian society.[390]

With the foundation of the Mughal rule the Sufis and their tradition entered into a new phase. We find that during the Sultanate period most of the kings were to a great extent orthodox. But the Sufis during the Sultanate period represented the liberal face of Islam. They tried to harmonize the society and a harmonious trend was established by them. Hence we see that on one hand the rulers were orthodox and on the other hand the Sufis were liberal.[391] When the Mughal period came this set-up was changed, particularly from the time of Akbar. Akbar was the ruler who tried to ensure that the Mughal rule could be permanently established in India, for which reason he adopted a liberal religious policy. Akbar abolished the jizya and pilgrimage taxes that were imposed on the Hindus. However he came up against the opposition of the Naqshbandi tradition of the Sufis. The Naqshbandi tradition believed that the attitude and measures adopted by Akbar for ensuring harmony in society was against the Shariat of Islam. They adopted an orthodox outlook regarding the Muslim society and the Shariat. In such conditions Sheikh Ahmad Sirhindi did not have good relations with Akbar the Great.

[390] Anuzsiya, S. (2016), Impact of Sufism movement in contemporary India, South Eastern University of Sri Lanka, Available at: http://ir.lib.seu.ac.lk/handle/123456789/2580
[391] Rupa Abdi, Sufism and Indian Sufism

Moreover when Akbar declared himself Imam-e-Adil and assumed the right of the interpretation of the Islamic law, the Naqshbandis were enraged with him. Sheikh Ahmad Sirhindi tried to revive the orthodox or conservative aspect of Islam and its Shariat.[392]

After Akbar when Jahangir came to power Sheikh Ahmad Sirhindi began to influence Jahangir so that he could not follow the liberal policies of Akbar.[393] Noor Jahan, who was a Persian and the wife of Jahangir, was a Shia. Her brother Asaf Khan and others were very close to Jahangir. In such condition Sheikh Ahmad Sirhindi thought that under the influence of Asaf Khan and other Shias, Jahangir would follow the liberal policies of Akbar. Sheikh Ahmad Sirhindi wrote a book named Rakde Rawafiz, which was against the Shia practices. This together with the fact that Sirhindi refused to bow before the Emperor led to his arrest and imprisonment by Jahangir. When he was released a year later however Jahangir presented him with one thousand tanka and a robe of honor, thereby diffusing the tensions that had developed between the state and Sufism.

The Sufis undoubtedly played an important role in harmonizing the Indian society and the two major religions, Islam and Hinduism, as well as Islam and Sikhism. Mian Mir during the period of Akbar and Jahangir was a leading Sufi of the Qadri tradition who resided in Multan influenced Guru Arjan Dev, the fifth Sikh Guru, with his philosophy and that of Baba Farid. When the

[392] Amalendu De, Theological Discourses in Indian History, Presidential Address, 2003-04, The Asiatic Society, Kolkata.
[393] Chandra, Medieval India, p.240.

foundation of the Golden Temple was being laid Guru Arjan Dev invited Mian Mir who was then very old to perform the function. It is indeed significant that the foundation of the Golden Temple in Amritsar was laid down by the Islamic Sufi Mian Mir. The vani or the sayings of Mian Mir and Baba Farid are part of the Guru Granth Sahib as well.

The two other Sufis who were very significant were Prince Dara Shikoh, the eldest son of Shah Jahan and Mirza Mazhar Jan-e-Jana. Dara Shikoh was a great Sufi who had learnt Sanskrit and the Vedas and Upanishads also. He translated the Upanishads into Persian and he gave it the title Sevre Akbar the Great Sacred. Then with some Sanskrit scholars of Benaras, Dara Shikoh translated the Vedas and he named it Majma-ul-Bahrain, in which he made a comparative study of the Quran as well as the Vedas. It was through Majma-ul-Bahrain that the European scholars came to know about the Indian Vedas.

Another book written by Dara Shikoh was Sakina-tul- Aulia, in which he has written the biographies of 107 Sufis. This philosophy of Dara Shikoh was not liked by Aurangzeb as well as the orthodox ulemas who issued the fatwah that Dara Shikoh should be killed and ultimately he was killed. But the ethos, the concept, the philosophy, which was given by Dara Shikoh on the deep study of the Vedas as well as the Quran, and their comparative study, continued in India. And Mirza Mazhar Jan-e-Jana, who lived during the time of Aurangzeb, continued the philosophy of Dara Shikoh and he also stressed that Hindus were not kafirs, they were ahl-e-kitab, or men of books and that the Vedas were the

books of God and they were given by God. and in this way the Sufi tradition continued in India.

Most of the Sufi silsilahs advocated toleration between peoples of different faiths and opened the doors of their khanqas to all irrespective of their religious beliefs. Their attitude of benevolence and their musical assemblies created an atmosphere of interaction between the Hindus and Muslims and even served to mitigate the harsher aspects of Islamic rule. But it is imperative that the Sufi saints who wandered and stayed in different parts of India were all not very liberal in their thoughts but also some of them were quite orthodox.[394] Under the influence of Sufism, it is true that philosophy was denounced and it was simultaneously equated with rationalism; however, miracle mongering and suspicion about science, its concepts and scientists were also developed by Sufis.

[394] Religion and Philosophy in Medieval India, National Institute of Open Schooling. Available at: https://nios.ac.in/media/documents/SecICHCour/English/CH.09.pdf

CHAPTER 5

WORKING IN POLITICAL SECTOR – MILITARY – ADMINISTRATION

Introduction

The first Muslim invaders of India were the Arabs. Their activities were practically confined to the lower Indus regions – the Sindh - and the outer fringe of the Indian political life and civilization. Their occupation of Sindh was only an episode in Indian history, full of interest in its own way, but not destined to influence seriously the Political and economic structure of Hindu India.

But the movement of the Ghaznavides and the Ghorides had a far-reaching effect, and eventually completely changed the political-map of the Post-Harsha Period. These invaders gradually warned themselves into the heart of India, and finally assumed the role of the earlier Hindu Empire - builders like Chandra Gupta, Samudra Gupta and even Harsha. The sovereign Power passed into the hands of the Muslim Sultan who exercised it according to his light and the circumstances of the time. In 1526 the Mughal Empire was established in India by Babur, who is regarded as most attractive personality in all history. Most of his life spent outside India but conquered most of places and establish the Mughal rule. Flora A. Steele wrote about Baba, "It would be sheer perversity to treat him solely in reference to the part he played in India, as this would be to deprive ourselves of no less than thirty six years of the very best of company".

The life of Babur can be categorized into different periods:

(1) Early adventures up to his conquest of Kabul (1494-1505);

(2) Babur as King of Kabul (1504-25); and

(3) Babur in India (1525-30).

India was always remained weak whenever the external invaders invaded India. There are so many reasons. Sporadic population living in different parts of India with their diverse culture, language, religious faith and that is why there were small kings with a small territory who did not have any effective means of communication with each other. They do not have any collective planning to save this vast country and due to these reasons. Babur invaded India and established Mughal emperor.[395] The Mughals were very rich as far as the arms, technology and their political machineries are concerned. So the Indian native Kings were early defeated and overpowered with their method of warfare. The Mughals were physically stronger compared to Indians and they had unity as they followed one religion i.e., Islam as compared to Indians who have many gods and goddesses. Babur, Humayun, Akbar, Jahangir, Shah Jahan, Aurangzeb and all other successive Mughals ruled according to their ability and wisdom and will. Initially, they stayed in northern part of India due to good and favorable climatic condition but gradually step over other parts of this country. The Mughal Empire during the rule of Aurangzeb reached its Zenith when apparently almost the whole of India was within his empire.

[395] Dirk Collier (2016). The Great Mughals and their India. Hay House. p. 15.

Babur turned to India when his repeated attempts to gain power in his central Asian homeland and failed, but eventually a discontented faction at the Lodi Court in Delhi invited him to interference. He defeated the Sultan Ibrahim-ll at Panipat in 1526, and in the next year, the Rajput Chiefs at Kanwa near Agra. Yet these victories were only a beginning, there was a yet no solid structure of Mughal Power, and the reaction of the Afghan Chiefs, led by Sher Shah Suri, caused Babur's son Humayun to flee from northern India to Singh and then to Afghanistan for fifteen years. Only the weakness of Sher Shah's successors allowed Humayun to return in 1555 and established himself in Delhi and Agra.[396]

During Bariam Khan's regency, the territories of the Mughal Empire had been expanded. Apart from Ajmer, the most important conquests during this period had been that of Malwa and Garh Katanga, Malwa was being ruled, at that time, by a young prince, Baz Bahadur, His accomplishments included a mastery of music and poetry. Stories about the love between Baz Bahadur and Rupmati who was famous for her beauty as well as for music and poetry are well known. During his time, Mandu had become a celebrated centre for music. The army, however, had been neglected by Baz Bahadur. The expedition against Malwas led by Adham Khan, son of Akbar's foster-mother, Maham Anaga. Baz Bahadur was badly defeated (1561) and the Mughals took valuable spoils, including Rupmati. However, she preferred to commit suicide to being dragged to Adham Khan's harem. Due to the senseless cruelties of Adham

[396] "BBC – Religions – Islam: Mughal Empire (1500s, 1600s)". Retrieved 2017-11-25.

Khan and his successor, there was a reaction against the Mughals who enabled Baz Baliadur to recover Malwa.

After dealing with Bairam Ktian's rebellion, Akbar sent another expedition to Malwa. Baz Bahadur had to flee, and for some time he took shelter with the Rama of Mewar. After wander about from one area to another, he finally repaired to Akbar's court and was enrolled as a Mughal mansabdar. The extensive country of Malwas thus came under Mughal rule.[397] When Akbar and the rebellion of the Uzbek nobles faced each other, he forced Asaf Khan to renounce his illegal gains. The kingdom of Garh-Katanga was restored to Chandra Shah who was the younger son of Sangram Shah, after taken ten forts to round off the kingdom of Malwa.

During the next ten years, Akbar brought the major part of Rajasthan under his control and also conquered Gujarat and Bengal. A major step in his campaign against the Rajput states was the siege of Chittor.[398] This redoubtable fortress, which had faced a number of sieges in its history, was considered a key to central Rajasthan.

One of the most important problems facing Akbar was the system of land revenue administration. Sher Shah had instituted a system by which the cultivated area was measured and a central schedule (ray) was drawn up, fixing

[397] Richards, James (1995). *The Mughal Empire*. Cambridge University Press. pp. 73–74.
[398] Statistics and estimates of the distances covered by Mughal armies are collected in Raj Kumar Phul's *Armies of the Great Mughals: 1526 -1707* (New Delhi: Oriental Publishers, 1978). See p. 235 – 240. Major campaigns and sieges at Chittor, Ahmednagar and other locations were carried out during the rainy season, often in severe weather. See *Akbarnama*, Volume 2, chpt. 119, Akbarnama, Volume 3, chpt. 273 and *Akbarnama*, Volume 3, chpt. 4.

the dues of the peasant crop-wise on the basis of the productivity of land. This schedule was converted every year into a central schedule of prices. Akbar adopted Sher Shah's system. But it was soon found that the fixing of central schedule of prices often led to considerable delays, and resulted in great hardship to the peasantry. Since the prices fixed were generally those prevailing at the Imperial Court, and thus were higher than in the countryside the peasants had to part with a large share of their produce.

Akbar, therefore, reverted to a system of annual assessment.[399] The qanungos, who were hereditary holders of land as well as local officials conversant with local conditions, were ordered to report on the actual produce, state of cultivation, local prices etc. Akbar followed different types of methods for the purpose of assessment known as the batai or ghalla-bakshi which were considered to be the most common and the oldest. The produce pertaining to this system was divided between the peasants and the state in fixed proportion. A third system which was widely used in Akbar's time was nasaq. It seems that it meant a rough calculation of the amount payable by the peasant on the basis of what he had been paying in the past. Other local methods of assessment also continued in some areas.

Akbar was deeply interested in the improvement and extension of cultivation, He asked Amil to act like a father to the peasants. He was to advance money by

[399] "Indian History-Medieval-Mughal Period-AKBAR", *Available at Webindia123.com, Retrieved on 28 November 2012.*

way of loans (taccav) to the peasants for seeds, implements, animals, etc. in times of acute needs, and to recover them in easy installments.

Hardly any changes were made by Akbar in the organization of local government. The pargana and the sarkar continued as before. The chief officers of the sarkar were the faujdar and the amalguzar. The former was in charge of law and order, and the latter was responsible for the assessment and collection of the land revenue.

The territories of the empire were divided into jagir, khalisa and inam. Income from khalisa villages went directly to the royal exchequer. The inam lands were those which were allotted to learned and religious men. Jagirs were allotted to nobles and members of the royal family including the queens.[400] The amalguzar was required to exercise a general supervision over all types of holdings so that the imperial rules and regulations for the assessment and collection land revenue were followed uniformly. Only autonomous rajas were left free to continue their traditional land revenue system in their territories. Even there, Akbar encouraged them to follow the imperial system.

Akbar paid great attention to the organization of the central and provincial governments. His system of central government was based on the structure of government which had evolved under the Delhi Sultanate, but the functions of the various departments were carefully organized and meticulous rules and

[400] John Walbridge. *God and Logic in Islam: The Caliphate of Reason*. p.165. "Persianate Mogul Empire".

regulations were laid down for the conduct of affairs. Thus, he gave a new shape to the system and breathed new life into it.

The relations between Akbar and the Rajputs were considered as an opposition to the wide background of Mughal policy towards the powerful rajas and zamindars of the country. The Rajput policy of Akbar proved as an advantage to both the Rajputs and the Mughal state. The alliance secured to the Mughal Empire, the services of the bravest warriors in India. The steadfast loyalty of the Rajputs became an important factor in the consolidation and expansion of the empire. The alliance ensured peace in Rajasthan, and enabled the Rajputs to serve in far flung part of the empire without worrying about the safety of their homelands.

Akbar's Rajput policy was continued by his successors, Jahangir and Shah Jahan. Jahangir, whose mother was a Rajput princess, had married a Kacchawaha princess as well as a Jodhpur princess.

Akbar also revised the education syllabus, laying more emphasis on moral education and mathematics, and on secular subjects such as agriculture geometry, astronomy, rules of government, logic, history, etc. He also gave patronage to artists, poets painters and musicians so much so that his court became famous for the galaxy of famous people there or the navaratna. Thus, under Akbar the state became essentially secular, liberal enlightened in social matters, and a promoter of cultural integration.

The fifty years reign of Akbar, the Great now followed. The Mughals' hold on northern and central India was made firm.[401] Malwa and the independent Rajput states, Gujarat and Khandesh were secured, and by 1576 Bengal were restored once more to the control of Delhi. The north-western frontier gateway to India for so many invaders, was secured by the acquisition of Kabul and Qandahar, although the latter town was to be a bone of contention with the Persians for a long time to come, in the Deccan, the northern tier of the successor-states to the Bahmanids were either directly annexed or made to acknowledge Akbar's supremacy, but the military and administrative control of the Mughals was not yet strong enough for full authority to be exercised there; this was to be the work of Aurangzeb. On the diplomat level, the initially friendly relations with the safavids were exchanged for an agreement with the Ozbeg 'Abdullah Khan over the demarcation of respective territories. There was also contact with the ottomans over the common threat from the Portuguese in the Indian Ocean, but the distance between Delhi and Istanbul were too vast for a Sunni Grand Alliance to emerge.

Akbar was thus undeniably a great general and statesman,[402] but he is perhaps more interesting as a thinker and religious reformer. This syncretistic Din-i-ilahi[403] shows his deep intellectual curiosity about religious in general. Hindus participated to a greater extent than usual in the administration and direction of the empire. It was under Akbar that the governmental system of the "empire

[401] The History of the Rise of Mohammedan Power in India, Volume 2, chpt. 50
[402] Malleson, G. B (1896). Akbar and the rise of the Mughal empire. Oxford : Clarendon Press.
[403] Roy Choudhury, Makhan Lal, *The Din-i-Ilahi:Or, The Religion of Akbar*.

took shape, and he welded together into a ruling class diverse ethnic elements, comprising Turks, Afghans, Persians, and Hindus. This class formed the mansabdaris holders of official appointments who were obliged to provide a certain number of troops. Official salaries were in part paid by Jagirs or land grants, which were not, however, hereditary like the iota's of the Islamic lands further west. Although the ruler himself had theoretically unbridled secular authority, the early Mughals at least were benevolent rather than tyrannical despots; moreover, the very vastness of the empire inhibited over-centralization.[404]

Akbar's successors Jahangir and Shah Jahan continued the Policy of enforcing obedience over outlying parts-over the Rajputs of Mewar, the Shi's Sultanates of Deccan, the Portuguese on the coast of Bengal - but Shah Jahan's ambitions of uniting central Asia and India in a ground Sunni empire only ended in failure and loss of Prestige.

In a savage succession war after Shah Jahan's death, Aurangzeb defeated his brother Dara Shikoh twice and began a fifty-year reign. He broke the liberal and eclectic traditions of his Predecessors. He attacked lax social and religious practices, which had grown up in Muslim India under the all pervading influence of the surrounding Hindu majority society, attempting a reformation on the lines enunciated in the eighteenth century by Shah Wali-Allah of Delhi.

[404] Richards, John F. (18 March 1993).Johnson, Gordon; Bayly, C. A., eds. The Mughal Empire. The New Cambridge history of India: 1.5. I. The Mughals and their Contemporaries. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. pp. 1, 190. doi:10.2277/0521251192. ISBN 978-0-521-25119-8.

In Part, Aurangzeb's Policy was a reaction against the renewed giver, intellectual and material of the Hindusim; yet the continued to let Hindus form an integral part of the mughal military and administrative structure. His military efforts were at first directed at strengthening the northwestern frontier where fierce fighting was necessary assert control over the Pathans. Latterly, he became increasingly concerned over the Deccan: the remaining Shi Sultanates were completely extinguished, and the Marathas checked; yet this last success was only temporary, and the higher Point of Muslim influence in the Deccan under Aurangzeb was never to be reached again.

Aurangzeb's death in 1707 began the agonizing decline of the Mughals. A series of ephemeral rulers raised to Power, whilst the outlying provinces of the empire fell into the hands of such groups as the Martha's, fats, Sikhs, and Rohilla Afghans. Nadir Shah's invasion of India in 1738-1739 and the occupation of Delhi, and the subsequent campaigns of Ahmad Shah Durrani, dealt the empire material and moral blows from which it never recovered on all sides, Hindu fortunes were reviving, and the factor of the English was now significant in the interior of the sub-continent as well as in the coastlands - whilst the English were extending their Power through Bengal to Oudh, Central India, and Rajputana, the Mughals in Delhi could only look on helplessly. Shah Alam-ll was an English Pensioner, and in 1858 the last Mughal was deposed and exiled for complicity in the Indian Mutiny.[405]

[405] *Ramesh Chandra Majumdar (1974). The Mughul Empire.*

Centralized administration, organized on systematic line, was a notable feature of the Mughal Empire very largely it was a creation of Akbar (1963-1014/1556-1605). At the center, the Emperor appointed ministers such as the Wakil whose office after Bysam Khan (d.967/1560) became largely titular and was often unoccupied. The diwan-l'a'ia or head of the revenue and finance department came to be the most important minister. He controlled revenues realized in the emperor's personal domain (Khalisa), determined the assessment figures (jama) on whose basis jagirs were assigned, and was in charge of payment of ail expenditure, including cash salaries. He issued instructions to his subordinates, called diwans in the Provinces (Subas).

The mir bakhshi was in charge of grants of mansabs (Salary determining ranks), up keep of the army and the intelligence service. He had his own subordinates (bakhshis) in the Subas. The Sadar at-Sudur was in charge of appointments of judicial officers and charity grants, again with subordinates called Sadrs Pasted in each Suba.

Akbar divided the empire into Subas, each having a governor (Sipahsolar, Sahib-l-suba, nazim) appointed by the Emperor. The governor's Powers were greatly restricted by other officers, the diwan, the bakhshi and the Sadr, who were directly subordinate only to the respective ministers at the center. Each Suba was divided- into Sarkars maintained largely for territorial identification. Fawdjdars maintained law and order over areas which did not necessarily coincide with Sarkars reach Sarkars was divided among praganas. Each having

a Muslim Judge (Kadi) and two Semi-hereditary officials called Kanungo and Chaudhari, who were concerned with tax-collection.

The holders of mansabs or mansabators of the Mughal Empire obtained their pay either in cash (nakd) or in from of areas or assignments of lands from which they were endorsed to secure the revenue from land and other related taxes charged or levied by the Emperor. These assignments were known as draggers, though sometimes the term Klta used by the Delhi Sultans, who also employed. Land which was reserved for the income of the crown was called Khalisa. and such areas which were due to be assigned, but were for the time being managed by imperial officers, were known as pavbaki. Territories assigned in lieu of the salary due to a mansabdar were termed jagirs or more precisely tankh-w-ah jagirs.

The Mughal rulers consolidated the administrative system which had developed under Akbar. Jahangir (1605-27) and Shah Jahan (1628-58) upheld the partnership with the Rajputs, and attempted to expand the Political base of the empire further by increasing partnerships with powerful groups such as the Marathas and Afghans.[406] They inflated their capitals with beautiful buildings, by using marble, and attempted to make the Mughal court the focal point of cultural aspect. A positive role was played by the Mughals in establishing relations of India with neighboring Asian Power such as the Uzbeks, Iran and the Ottoman Turks, providing opportunities foreign trade of India. Trade

[406] John F. Richards (1996), *The Mughal Empire* (The New Cambridge History of India), excerpt and online search

allowances given to numerous European trading companies were also desired at enhancing foreign trade of India. However, few negative characteristics surfaced during the period such as the ruling classes did not strain down to workers and peasants. The growth of Technology and Science in the West was remained oblivious by the Mughal ruling class. The issue of succession to the throne brought instability, thus posing a danger to the Political framework and the cultural and economic development.

The eldest son of Akbar, Jahangir succeeded to the throne without any trouble but his younger brothers died during the lifetime of Akbar because of habits of extreme drinking. After the succession of Jahangir, Khusrau, his eldest son engaged in rebellion. Jahangir himself had rebelled against his father, and kept the empire disturbed for some time. However, Khusrau did not win as Jahangir defeated him in a battle that happened near Lahore following which he was captured and confined in prison.

Like Akbar, Jahangir realized that conquest could be with the intention of securing the goodwill of the people but not forcing upon them.[407] Therefore, Akbar and Jahangir did not ill-treat the defeated Afghan Chiefs and their followers, but looked after them with sympathy and consideration. After sometime, most of the Zamindars and Princes of Bengal who were confined at the court were freed and permitted to go back to Bengal. This resulted in the release of Musa Khan and restoration of his estates. Thus after a long spell,

[407] Holden, Edward Singleton (1895). The Mogul emperors of Hindustan, A.D. 1398- A.D. 1707. New York : C. Scribner's Sons.

Peace and Prosperity returned to Bengal. To cap the process, the Afghan also now began to be inducted into the Mughal nobility. The principal Afghan noble under Jahangir was Khani Jahan Lodi who provided outstanding service in the Deccan.

The jagir system in its standard form worked with tolerable efficiency down to the system in its standard form worked with tolerable efficiency down to the middle of Aurangzeb's reign (1069- 1118/1659-1707). But towards the close of that reign, owing to the increasing strain of the Deccan wars on the financial resources of the empire and the dislocation of the administration because of the Emperor's absence from Northern India, the complicated machinery under which jagirs were assigned, began to be weaken.[408] The crises which shook the jagir system appeared in the garb of what a contemporary writer called bi-diagir (absence of jagir). More commanders' and. officers had to be accommodated on the imperial payrolls than could be found jagirs. Inevitably, influence and money began to count more in all jagir assignments.

The Emperor theoretically created the Mughal nobility. It was he alone who could confer, increase, increase, diminish or resume the mansab of any of his subjects. It would be wrong, however, to suppose that the Mughal nobility was open to all who could fulfill certain criteria of merit and competence to the satisfaction of the emperor. The mansabdars were not only public servants but also the richest class in the Empire and a closed aristocracy; entrance into this

[408] Stein, B. (16 June 1998), A History of India (1st ed.), Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, ISBN 978-0-631-20546-3

class was not easily available to ordinary subject, whatever their merits. The most important factor which was taken into account when nobles were appointed was heredity. The Khanazads or sons and descendants of mansabdars, had the best claim of all. But sons did not normally succeed to the full mansabs of their fathers. As a result, a large portion of recruits always consisted of persons who did not belong to families of those already holding mansabs. Such persons came from a variety of classes A number of them were Zamindars or chiefs within the Empire. The inclusion of Zamindars among the officers of the state was no innovation of the Mughals, but it is true that Akbar gave it very great importance by granting mansabs to a large number of Zamindars exceptionally, the Rajput chiefs. Their ancestral domains were left to them, being treated as their watan-jagirs, but as government officers, ordinary jagir were assigned to them in all parts of the Empire.

There were nobles and high officers of other states who were given a place in the Mughal nobility on account of their experience, status and influence or of the contingents which they commanded and the territories which they controlled. For the Persian and Uzbek nobility, India had traditionally been on El Dorado where fortunes could be rapidly made. In the Deccan military, necessity required that the large number of nobles and officers of the independent states, both in times of peace and war, be own over to the Mughal side. They had to be granted mansabs, high enough to induce them to betray their own states. Almost all mansabdars from the Deccan, for e.g., Bidjapuris. Hydarabadis or Marathas, belong to this category. A small portion of the

mughal nobility was recruited from those who had no claims to high birth but were pure administrator or accountants. Such were the members of the castes of Khatris, Kayasths, Nagar Brahmans, etc. Finally mansab were also awarded to scholars, religious divines, men of letters, etc. Abu-l-FadI in the time of Akbar and said Allah Khan and Danishmand Khan during the reign of Shah Jahan owed their high ranks to their talents as men of letters. A few theologians and religious scholars were also awarded mansabs.

There various elements were incorporated into the Mughal Service largely as a result of historical circumstances but partly also as a result of planned imperial policy. Akbar's Policy seems to have been to integrate all these elements into a single imperial service. He often assigned officers belonging to various groups to serve only one superior officer. At the same time, the district or separate character of each group was respected. Akbar's Policy of Sulh-i-Kull meaning universal peace, was at least partly motivated by a desire to employ elements of diverse religious beliefs-Sunnis, Shias and Hindus - and to prevent sectarian differences among them from interfering with their loyalty to the throne.

It was therefore articulated that a marked expansion of the nobility did not take place till Aurangzeb embarked on the policy of annexing the entire Deccan. As a result of fresh recruitment made during this period, the internal composition of the nobility changed in same material respects. Abul-Fadl Ma'muri summed up the changes by saying that the Khanazads, i.e., nobles belonging to families previously connected with imperial service, were the chief losers. Recruitment, however from aristocratic families of central Asia and Persia still continued,

but on a much smaller scale. There was very little opportunity of entry left for the non-aristocratic educated classes. There may have been a few promotions of scholars like Bakhtawar Khan and Inayat Allah Khan, but their number was limited. There was, however, room for adventures, which first organized their troops and established themselves as chiefs or ruler in areas outside the control of the Empire and then sought to enter imperial service.

Mughal India had a currency system based on the silver rupee (178 grains); but the system was formally tri-metallic, with gold and copper coins circulating at rates based on their metal values. The Mughals succeeded in issuing a coinage of great purity and uniformity from numerous mints throughout their empire.

Beneath the imperial structure existed a more stable class that of Zamindars. Mukhlis (ca. 1750) defined a Zamindar as "literally meaning master of the land (Sahib-i-Zamin) but now (actually) the malik (proprietor) of the land of a village or township, who also carried on cultivation". With such superior "land-owners" at one extreme, the Zamindar also comprised the various tributary chiefs and autonomous Radjas who were also called zamindars by the Mughal chancery.

A remarkable fact exists that general revenue regulations issued in the period from Akbar and Aurangzeb excluded the Zamindars from the framework of the standard revenue machinery. On the other hand, considerable evidence exists that the Zamindars paid the revenue on behalf of whole villages. The case must have been that every locality had some land under Zamindars who from the

point of view of the revenue authorities were often simple revenue-payers of asami.

Summary assessment of land revenue and collection through Zamindars should in general have had considerably simplified the task of the jagirdars and their agents. Yet it was also from the Zamindars that they met with the greatest opposition. A heavy assessment would deprive the Zamindars of their income and, in the case; they might use their armed retainers, backed in some cases by the peasants, to defy the jagirdars. For such defiance, Zamindars has the right to forfeit his Zamindari rights. But a Zamindar could not be dispossessed or appointed by any way except by the Emperor.

The reign of Aurangzeb saw a great increase in the pressure of the administration of the jagirdars upon the Zamindars as a class. Manucci declared that "the viceroys and governors (of the Mughal Empire) were in a constant state of quarrel with the Hindu princes and Zamindars - with some because they wished to seize their lands; with others to force them to pay more revenue than was customary." There were "some rebellion of the Radjas and Zamindars which went on in the Mughal Kingdom".

The peasants were so largely comprehended by the names ra'aya, ra'iyyat (hence the Anglo-Indian "ryot") that the peasants thought they were a greatly differentiated class by the distinction made between mukaddams (headmen), Kalantran (higher-level men), etc., on the one hand, and the rezanri 'aya (small peasants), on the other. A Farman of Aurangzeb made a separate category for

peasants who were so indigent as to depend wholly on credit for their seed, cattle and subsistence.

The peasant society revolved around the villages only. It was also the real unit of assessment of the state's revenue demand, which as then distributed among villagers by the headmen and the village accountant (patwari). It had thus a financial pool, from which part from tax payments, minor common expenses (Kharadi-i-dih) were also met. This seems to have formed the basic factor behind the formation of the celebrated, but often elusive, Indian village community. The village had its own servants, whose status and functions have been studied by Fukazawa in an important paper based on documents from 18th century Maharashtra.

Commerce had greatly penetrated the village economy, since the peasant had to sell his crop in order to pay his taxes. He had little left, however, with which he was able to buy urban products. The peasants were divided among castes. Even the administration recognized caste hierarchy by varying the revenue rates according to peasant castes, as the documents from Rajasthan especially show. The menial and "untouchable" castes were generally excluded from the land and formed the bulk of agricultural laborers.

By and large, the artisans were in the same position as the peasants: they were technically "free", but hemmed around by many constraints. Though some of them were bound to render customary services as village servants, most of the artisans could sell their wares in the market. Need for advances, however, often

forced them to deal only with merchants, brokers or other middlemen. A very small number worked in the workshops (Karkhanas) of nobles and merchants.

In the Mughal Empire, a well protected class was formed by the Merchants which were divergent in its own way. There were large bands of bandijaras, or transporters who got goods in bulk and moved with loaded bullocks that traveled large distance; even specialized bankers (sarrafs), insurers and brokers (dalals) were existent. At the ports, some also operated and owned ships.

The Mughal Empire declined rapidly after the death of Aurangzeb. The Mughal court became the scene for faction fighting among the nobles, and soon ambitious provincial governors began to behave in an independent manner. The Maratha depredations extended from the Deccan to the heartland of the empire, the Gangetic plains. In 1739, the incapability of the empire was indicated when the Mughal emperor was imprisoned by Nadir Shah and Delhi was looted.

Mughal policy towards the zamindars was contradictory. The attempt to extend Mughal administration over Golconda, Bijapur and Karnataka, stretched the Mughal administration to breaking point. However, an attempt to understand Aurangzeb's religious policy should be done in the social, economic and political context. Aurangzeb was orthodox in his outlook and tried to remain within the framework of the Islamic law. But this law was developed outside India in vastly dissimilar situations, and could hardly be applied rigidly in India.

Ultimately, the decline and downfall of the empire was due to economic, social political and institutional factors.[409] Akbar's measures helped to keep the forces of disintegration in check for some time. But it was impossible for him to effect fundamental changes in the structure of society.[410] By the time Aurangzeb came to the throne, the socio-economic forces of disintegration were already strong. Aurangzeb lacked the foresight and statesmanship necessary to effect fundamental changes in the structure or to pursue policies which could, for the time being, reconcile the various competing elements.

ORGANIZATION OF THE ARMY

The Mughal military system was a combination of Mongol mobility, Turk discipline and tenacity; and Persian sophistication and organizational ability. On the arrival of Babur in India the system proved so effective that other independent and semi independent states within the country began to either copy it or borrow from it. The system was at its most effective until the time of Akbar after which it went into steady decline.[411]

With the arrival of the Mughals in India, certain changes took place, especially during Akbar, he developed it on his own lines to suit the requirements of his Empire. During Mughals the term *Bakhshi* was used for military officers. *Bakhshi* is a word probably from the Sanskrit *Bhikshu* which appears in east

[409] Owen, Sidney J (1912). The Fall of the Mogul Empire. London, J. Murray.
[410] Lane-Poole, Stanley (1906). History of India: From Reign of Akbar the Great to the Fall of Moghul Empire (Vol. 4). London, Grolier society.
[411] Major General Gurcharn Singh Sandhu, *A Military History of Medieval India*, Vision Books Pvt.Ltd,
New Delhi, 2003, p.567

Turki and Persia during the Mongol period.[412] In the Empire of the Indian Mughals, the *Bakhshi* was an official of a high rank who had charge of the registration and pay of the troops.[413]

Central Administration of the Army

The Mughal Empire, like the Sultanate, was by its nature a military rule and therefore, necessarily, a centralized despotism. In time it tried to grow roots in the soil but retained its basic military character to the very end. Shahjahan also followed the same system as that of his predecessors. Every official, including ecclesia carried a *Mansab* or military rank which determined his pay and status. Even the official in charge of the royal kitchen carried a *Mansab* of 600.[414]

The primary department for the army was under a *Bakhshi* but only slightly important military departments were under a *Mir Bahari* (admiral) and an *Akhtabegi* (Superintendent of remounts and stables).[415]

Military departments under his overall control were *Sahib-i-tawji*(controller military Accounts) and a *Nazir-i-buyutat* (chief Supervisor workshops including manufacture of arms and stores. The Emperor personally supervised the armed forces and attended too much of the detail as the commander-in-chief. He was the head of the military department and looked after recruitment, reviews and other similar affairs connected with army. He was assisted by a

[412] Ibn Hasan, *Central Structure of the Mughal Empire*, Oxford University Press, London, 1936, p.213
[413] Ibid.
[414] Major General Gurcharn Singh Sandhu, *A Military History of Medieval India*,p.567
[415] Ibid., p. 568

subordinate *Bakhshi* called the second *Bakhshi*.[416] When armies were on the move a separate *Bakhshi* was attached to each division and they were probably individually responsible to the chief or Mir *Bakhshi*.[417]

The role of Mir *Bakhshi* in *Mansabdari* System –Though for administrative purposes, the Mughal army was divided into five departments- Cavalry, Elephantry, Artillery, Infantry and Navy, yet the cavalry enjoyed a dominant position.[418] The medieval sultans of India had always, looked upon horsemen as the only effective soldiers in their armies.[419] The Mughals, too, looked upon cavalry as the main arm of their forces.[420]

On a number of occasions the leading nobles of the Empire, particularly governors of provinces and commanders of military expeditions, recommended persons for appointment to the Emperor. Their recommendations were generally accepted and *mansabs* were conferred on persons recommended by them.[421]

The institution of the army and the *Mansabdari* system interpenetrate each other, so that the one is incomplete without the other. It is an important feature of the Mughal administration that all civil officers, high and low were chosen from the holders of the military rank, i.e., the *Mansabdars*.

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[416] B.P.Saxena, *History of ShahJahan of Dihli,* Central Book Depot,Allahabad,1976,p.276
[417] Abdul Hamid Lahori, *Badshah Nama*, vol.I, Bibliotheca Indica, p.241
[418] William Irvine, *The Army of the Indian Moghuls,* New Delhi,1962,p.57
[419] I.H.Qureshi, *The Administration of the Mughal Empire*, Delhi,1995, p.134
[420] Ibid., p.114
[421] Abdul Aziz, *The Mansabdari System and the Mughal Army,* Idarah-i-Adabiyat-i-Delli, 2009, p.33

The *mansab*, although primarily a military rank constituted the terms in which official hierarchy, an incidentally social status, was expressed. A *mansab* did not by itself imply any particular office.[422] In a sense the history of the Mughal army was the history of the *Manasabdari* system covering a much wider field than the army, while some portions of the army were not under *Mansabdars.*[423] The composition of the army, was necessary to have clarity about the graduated organization. At once military officials and aristocrats were known as a part of the *Mansabdari* system along with its incidents and implications.

Mansabdari system was the most highly developed form-for instance in the reign of Shahjahan. He introduced *yak-aspa*, *do-aspa* and *si-aspa*, meaning the 2-3 horse rank.[424]

The quality of the Mughal army, therefore, depended upon the leaders chosen under the *Mansabdari* system and the soldiers recruited and presented by them, the government, speaking generally rested upon their loyalty and their efficiency.[425] *Mir Bakhshi's* duties related to *Mansabdars* are given below in the brief: The *Mir Bakhshi* issued certificates (*Dastak*) under his seal and signature for the following purposes.[426]

1. Grants of *mansab*, and sanctions of increments to the princes and other royal personage, *Amirs* of high rank, and other high officials (all the high

[422] Ibid., pp.1-2
[423] Ibid.
[424] Lahori, *Badshah Nama***,** vol**.I,** op.cit., p. 113
[425] Abdul Aziz, *The Mansabdari System and the Mughal Army*, p.182
[426] Ibn Hasan, *Central Structure of the Mughal Empire*, p.226

officials even *Diwan, Mir Bakhshi* himself, *Sadr-us-Sudur,* and *Mir Saman* etc. held *mansab*.)

2. Muster of troops.[427]

3. Branding of the horses.

4. Branding and verification of the troops of high *Amirs* and *Mansabdars,* required in their death or dismissal.[428]

5. Appointment of the *Darogha, Amir* and *Mushrifs* for the branding and verification of troops attached to the king, and the postings of the same to provinces and different armies.[429]

Mir Bakhshis were usually found presenting all the candidates for service before the king.[430] The *Mir Bakhshi* kept the following records in his offices:

List of *Mansabdars* stationed at the capital and deputed to provinces, accounts and demands due from *Mansabdars*, abstract of pay bills, *Dastur-ul-amal* (regulations) governing the salaries in cash and *Jagir* and the conversion of *Jagirs* into cash salaries, list of the rank of *Mansabdars* and the salaries drawn by them, and the manner in which they were drawn, descriptive rolls (*Chehra*)

[427] Ibid. Musters were very common in the reigns of great Mughals in India. The march past of the army of a Prince or a great noble in the reign of ShahJahan Or the soldiers and the horses of the *Mansabdars* after *Dagh-o-Chehra*(branding and verification) in the case of fresh appointments, and at regular intervals in cases of permanent officers, were also presented by the *Bakhshis* before the King. This duty performed by other *Bakhshis* also. The presence of *MirBakhshi* was not essential.

[428] Ibn Hasan, *Central Structure of the Mughal Empire,* p.226, this was considered necessary for the
settlement of the accounts of salaries on the basis of the troops actually in his service at that particular time.

[429] Ali Mohammad Khan, *Mirat-i-Ahmadi,* tr. M. F. Lokhandwala, Baroda oriental Institute**,** 1965, p.152

[430] R. K. Phul, *Armies of the Great Mughal* , New Delhi,1978, p.37

of *Mansabdars* and *Sawars*, records of branding and verification, records of the attendance of *Mansabdars* in the provinces and different armies, he secured the bonds of surety from the newly appointed *Mansabdars* and soldiers, and preserved theses papers in his custody.[431]

For this duty the *Mir Bakhshi* was assisted by two other *Bakhshis* at the center.[432] *Mir Bakhshi* called the first *Bakhshi*, his assistants were called second and third *Bakhshis* respectively. In Shahjahan's reign the number was increased to three.[433] Mostly all the three *Bakhshis* were in attendance in the various audiences of the monarchy.[434] The work load among them was divided in accordance with the rank of the *Mansabdars*.[435] The first *Bakhshi* related to the affairs of the royal Princes and the highest *Mansabdars*, the second *Bakhshi* was related with the second grade *Mansabdars*, the third *Bakhshi* related to the lowest. There was a complete procedure of the various papers and the maintenance of the records.

Hence, it is clear from the above that the *Mir Bakhshi* was ranked as one of the top most officials of immense trust , responsibility and importance in Empire and was entrusted with the significant job of the intensely supervising the entire *Mansabdari* system, which was considered the most important institution of the Mughal Empire.

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[431] Ibn Hasan, *Central Structure of the Mughal Empire*, pp.226-227
[432] Ibid.
[433] Lahori, *Badshah Nama*, vol.I, Part-I p.279, Mutamad Khan, the second *Bakhshi* (During the ShahJahan's reign) by the right of seniority in services was appointed the *MirBakhshi*.
[434] Lahori, *Badshah Nama*, vol.I, Part-I, pp.147,153
[435] I. H. Qureshi, *The Administration of the Mughal Empire*, p. 78

***Mir* Bakhshi's Department and *Ahadis*-** Regarding *Ahadis*[436] department under the Mughal Empire. There were many brave persons whom his Majesty did not appoint to a *mansab*, but released from being under the orders of anyone. Such persons belonged to the immediate servants of his majesty, and dignified by their independence. They went through the school of learning their duties, and had their knowledge tested. As it was the aim of external, he called such persons *Ahadis*.[437] For the sake of the convenience of the *Ahadis*, a separate *Diwan* and a paymaster were appointed, and one of the great *Amirs* as their chief. Without partiality or accepting bribes, he practiced daily before his majesty. When they had been approved of, they were passed for service. *Ahadis* were mustered every four months, when a certificate signed by the *Diwan* and *Bakhshi*, which was called as *tashiha*, and the clerk of the treasury wrote a receipt which was to be counter signed by the principal grandees.[438] An *Ahadis* generally found his own horse; but he later got it from the government, and if the certificate of the inspectors, which is called *Saqatnama*, explained the reason why the horse was not forthcoming, he would be held indemnified for his dead horse, and would not receive the money for keeping a horse until he got a new one. But if he had no *Saqatnama* to show, he would not be allowed or given anything from the time of the last muster."[439]

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[436] I.H.Qureshi, *The Administration of the Mughal Empire*, p.79, Here was a separate *Bakhshi* for the *Ahadis*.

[437] Inayat Khan, *ShahJahan Nama*, ed., W.E.Begley & Z.A.Desai, Oxford University Press, New York,
1990, pp. 470-471

[438] Ibid.

[439] Ibid.

Lahori's *Badshah Nama*[440] gave the detail of *Ahadis* during the Shah Jahan's reign; Shah Jahan maintained 7000 *Ahadis* in his 1647 A.D. Mohammad Waris[441] mentioned that Shah Jahan sent about 5000 *Ahadis* including archers, gunners, and musketeers, on each of the three expeditions to Qandahar in 1649, 1652 and 1653. Many civilians had the ranks of *Ahadis*, being employed in administration and clerical capacities. They were not organized as a fighting force and were employed mostly for household duties.

Hence, it is confirmed from the above that the process applied by the Mughal government in the appointments fixation of salaries etc. was quite similar to the one which was applied in the case of *Mansabdars* and the *Mir Bakhshi* played an important role in all the affairs related to the *Ahadis*.[442]

Mir Bakhshi and his duties relating to army

Firstly, *Mir Bakhshi* prepared a written statement called "*Haqiqat*"[443] of the candidate, which contained details like the name of the applicant and his father, his native place and other special qualifications. The Sovereign, if impressed, issued orders for an interview. The person was brought before him in the audience hall. The candidate had to offer a present (*nazr*) or a sort of service

[440] Lahori, *Badshah Nama*, vol.II,p.715
[441] Mohammad Waris, *Badshah Nama*, Ms.38, Seminar Library, C.A.S. Department of History. A.M.U., Aligarh, pp.446-47
[442] Lahori, *Badshah Nama*, vol.II, pp.716-17
[443] Ibid.

fee (*khidmatana),*[444] but merit was the most essential qualification for the appointment of any *Mansabdar* or official.[445]

Secondly, the newly appointed officer brought surety for good conduct (*tamasak-ihazir-zamini)*[446] where credentials were verified from his patron noble. The *Mir Bakhshi* issued a certificate called '*tasdiq'*[447] stating that he was granted such and such *mansab* (both *zat* and *sawar*). It also contained *Bakhshi's* order that the case should be entered into the 'record of events (*Waqiah).*[448] The events writer (*waqiya-navis)* made an appropriate entry in his records and sent back an extract called *'yaddasht'*[449] or a sort of pay bill to *Mir Bakhshi's* office, then it was sent to the office of superintendent of revision endorsed it by stating," on such and such date , month and year, it was brought for the second time."[450]

Before a *Mansabdar* was entitled to get his pay, he had to secure the descriptive rolls of his relatives and horses from the superintendent of banding department.[451] This certificate contained the particulars given below:

Once all the above mentioned papers had been submitted to the *Mir Bakhshi's* office, a special estimate of the officer's salary called '*taliqah*'[452] was prepared.

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[444] Inayat Khan, *ShahJahan Nama,* p.475
[445] Major General Gurucharan Singh Sandhu, *A Military History of Medieval India,* p.543
[446] R.K.Phul, *Armies of the Great Mughals,* p.36
[447] Ibid., p.37
[448] Ibn Hasan, *The Central Structure of the Mughal Empire, p.93*
[449] Ibid.
[450] M.Athar Ali, "Mansab and Imperial Policy under Shah Jahan", p.6
[451] See Chapter 1 of Simon Digby's *Warhorse and Elephant in the Delhi Sultanate: A Study of Military Supplies* (Oxford: Orient Monographs, 1971) for an assessment of the quality of Indian edged weapons, armor and other metal goods—and their superiority to similar items from abroad.

It also contained particulars like the grantee's rank (*zat and sawar)*, his salary etc. A *taliqah* was in the form of an executive order, which authorized the person concerned to get his salary from the state.

A copy of this estimate called *sarkhat*[453] was handed over to the officer. It was of great importance because it was on this basis that the *Diwan* made entries in his records which he placed before the king for sanction. The sanction thus obtained, was again reported to *Mir Bakhshis* and it was after his signature and seal that the document was considered complete.[454]

The *Mir Bakhshi* of the Mughal Empire enjoyed all the powers of the *Diwan-i-Arz*, as the head of the department.[455]

The *Mir Bakhshi* in the administrative machinery of the central government,[456] his main duties were- departmental work, presentation of candidates for service, presentation of soldiers and horses for inspection, presentation of high officials and visitors before the king, presentation of the names of the guards of the palace for rewards. The *Mir Bakhshi* at the capital nominating the guards of the palace. Summoning the *mansabdars*, the news reports from the provinces were to be received and be put before the king. The *Mir Bakhshi* on tours with the king.[457]

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[452] Ibid.
[453] Ibid.
[454] U.N.Day, *The Mughal Government***,** p.49
[455] Ibn Hasan, *The Central Structure of the Mughal Empire, p.*215
[456] Ibid.,p.210
[457] Ibid.

As the head of the military department, he was in touch with every *Mansabdar* and hence his presence in the *darbar* formed a part of his permanent duties.[458] *Mir Bakhshi* and his other colleagues on the battlefield acted in three different capacities-General supervisors of the army and its arrangement, as commanders, working under Prince or any other high Amir.

Bakhshis in the Battle field[459]

If the king accompanied the army, the *Mir Bakhshi* presented before him on the morning of a battle, the muster roll[460] and the number of troops under each commander. He also set the plans of the army and assigned posts to the commanders in the van, center, right and left wings, and the rear guard[461] but sometimes the king formulated the plan of the battle in his capital before the dispatch of the armies, and it was strictly adhered to on the battle field.[462] The distribution of loans, the advancement of money and the payment of salaries formed the chief duty of the *Bakhshi* of the army in active service.[463] Under Shah Jahan the military plans were usually settled before the dispatch of the armies, definite instructions were issued to the commanding officers, and they always kept themselves in touch with the King whose personal experience was

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[458] Ibid.,p.216

[459] Ibid.,p.223

[460] *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, tr. Alexander Rodgers and ed. Henry Beveridge, vol.I, Delhi, 1968 pp.374-75, mentioned the contingent of Itimad-ud-Daulah passed before me in review on the plain under the *Jharokha*, there were 2000 cavalry well horsed, most of whom were Moghuls, 500 foot armed with bows and guns, and fourteen elephants. The *Bakhshi* reckoned them up and reported that this force was fully equipped and according to rule.

[461] Shahabuddin Abdul Fahman, "Conduct of Strategy and tactics of war During the Muslim rule in India",Islamic culture, vol.20, 1946, pp.160-161

[462] Mohammad SalihKanbu, *ShahJahanama*,vol.I Majlis-i-TarraqiAdab, Narsingdas Garden, Club
Road, Lahore, 1958, p.462

[463] Lahori, *Badshah Nama*, vol.II, p.555

much greater than that of many of his generals. When armies were sent into the field a separate *Bakhshi* was attached to each division and in most cases the duty of *Waqianavis* (news-reporter) was also assigned to him.[464] Regular reports were forwarded to the king and the Central government.

There were three different positions in which the *Mir Bakhshi* or any of his colleagues could be present on the battle field. Firstly, If the Emperor led the army personally, as Akbar usually did, or accompanied the army to supervise the arrangements and ensure efficiency and unity among the officers, as Shahjahan generally did on all important occasions, the chief *Bakhshi* performed his ordinary duties as on tours.[465] Secondly, he could be placed in charge or give complete command of the expedition. In such cases, he acted like an ordinary military general or the commanding officer.[466] Thirdly, he could be sent with an army placed directly under the charge of some prince or high *Amir*. In such a case the *Bakhshi* would be deputed only when the expedition was an important one or[467] his presence was necessitated by any emergency.[468]

Lastly the *Mir Bakhshi* and his colleagues took part in active hostilities and fought on the field like other officers.[469] Under Shahjahan, Sadiq Khan, the *Mir*

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[464] Abdul Hamid Lahori, *Badshah Nama*, vol.I, Part-I, p.241 gives, when Mahabat Khan was sent against Jujhar Singh, Islam Khan was appointed *Bakhshi* to his army; also mentioned vol.I, part II, p. 136, Ishaq Beg Yazdi was appointed *Bakhshi* and *Waqiahnavis* to a contingent in the Deccan army.
[465] Hidayat Ullah Bihari, *Hidayat-ul-Qawayad,* Abdus Salam collection, A.M.U, p.1
[466] Ibid.
[467] Ibn Hasan, *The central structure of the Mughal Empire*,p.223
[468] Ibid.
[469] Ibid.,p.224

Bakhshi, took part in the battle against Abdullah Khan Lodi.[470] Asalat Khan, *Bakhshi* was deputed against Raja Jagat Singh and he himself commanded one section of the army.[471]

In 1646 A.D, when Prince Murad Bakhsh was sent off to Balkh with a victorious army, Asalat Khan *Mir Bakhshi* was appointed to the Centre of the right wing.[472] Asalat Khan, The *Mir Bakhshi*, and KhalilUllah Khan, the second *Bakhshi* took a very prominent part in the Balkh expedition and were conspicuous by their distinguished services in the field in the nineteen and twentieth year of the Shahjahan's reign.[473]

In addition to taking part in battles, the *Mir Bakhshi* could take steps which he thought necessary from militaristic point of view and sometimes important decisions relating to military strategy was taken instant, Consultations with him. For improving the mobility of their armies the Mughal Emperors paid great attention to the work of building, roads and bridges on the rivers in their empire, and called upon their nobles to do the same in their *Jagirs*.

Therefore, the *Mir Bakhshi* was entrusted with other duties, too, which were related to the army and strategy of warfare. The *Mir Bakhshi* has to pay attention to the problems and affairs of the soldiers with consideration and had to occupy himself fulfilling the army's needs. He had to keep the soldiers always present in *sawari* and *chauki* at the time of confrontation with the

[470] Lahori, *Badshah Nama,* vol.II, p.411
[471] Ibid.,p.240
[472] Ibid.
[473] Ibid., pp.491-520

enemy. He had to even boost their courage and bravery along with showering praises upon them even though they might have lacked qualities. It was important for him to acquire this proficiency and attain these qualities in the performance of his job because he would endear himself to the high and low.[474] The *Bakhshis* were also responsible for the recruitment and efficiency of the directly recruited troops. Therefore, the *Mir Bakhshi* was considered as the Head of the military Department and as such, the chief representative of the *Mansabdars*, but this position did not give him any influence with the army. He was not commander-in-chief of the forces of the Empire; his control over the army on the field of battle was further curtailed by the presence either of the King or of *Amirs* of high positions, on important expeditions.[475]

***Mir Bakhshi* with King on Tours-** Though the charge of the management of tours and the establishment that accompanied the king was under the *Mir Saman*, who was the head of *Karkhanas*, the *Mir Bakhshi* had also to do a lot with it. As the head of the military department and the chief connecting link between the king and the *Mansabdars*, he accompanied the king on tours, pleasure trips and hunting expeditions.[476] He looked after the arrangement of the camp and allotted places to *Mansabdars* according to their rank.[477]

As the head of the military department, the *Mir Bakhshi* kept the list of the guards. The *Mansabdars* at the capital were divided into eighty four

[474] R.K.Phul, *Armies of the great Mughals*,p.38
[475] Ibn Hasan, *The Central structure of the Mughal Empire*, p. 231
[476] Bernier, *Travels of Moghul India*, p. 171
[477] Inayat Khan, *ShahJahan Nama*, p. 485

divisions[478] for the purpose of mounting guard on the imperial palace. Seven of these were brought up every month to mount guard, so that each one was on duty once a week for a month.[479] The duty was compulsory and was enforced strictly. The list was prepared by the *Mir Bakhshi* and presented to the king. In the evening when the Emperor inspected the guards and the royal ensigns were brought out, the *Bakhshis* were in attendance.[480] As chief officer he connected with the guards of the palace, the Mir *Bakhshi* presented the name of guards for rewards. The King presented them with elephants, Horses and other articles as well. The *Bakhshis* read out daily the names of the guards and other soldiers, mentioning such first as have never received anything before. His Majesty gave them horses. When a soldier had received a horse, he was not recommended to His Majesty for the space of a year for any other donation.[481]

The procedure of the royal guard's appointment was the same as in the case of the appointment of a *Mansabdar*, except that the selected candidate had to present a fixed amount of offering (*Nazr*). His *Yaddasht* and descriptive roll, bearing the seals of the Superintendent of branding and *Mir Bakhis* were attached together. He got his bond of surety from the office of revision, and entered the department of Royal guards, after his horse been branded by the

[478] I.H.Quraishi, *The Administration of the Mughal Empire*, p.56
[479] Yusuf Hussain, *Selected Documents of ShahJahan's reign*, p. 89
[480] William Hawkins, op.cit., p. 111
[481] Ibn Hasan, *The Central Structure of the Mughal Empire*, p.217

department concerned.[482] A *Jagirdar*, if he got an appointment as a royal guard, had to follow the same procedure.

Hence, the *Mir Bakhshi* used to be the most trusted officer of the Empire and the Emperor had much confidence in him in affairs that were related to the army. Thus, the duties of the *Mir Bakhshi* were of such a nature that he could hardly be kept way from the imperial presence. He was indispensable to the Mughal royalty.

Provincial Administration of the Army

Mir Bakhshi was usually the king's chief advisor in recommending honours increments and awards following a successful campaign. The Mughal soldiers usually brought their own horses, when horses got killed in expeditions. The recommendation of the local commanders for supplying horses at the cost of the state passed through his hands for imperial sanction. When armies were sent into the field a separate *Bakhshi* was attached to each decision and they were probably individual responsible to the chief or *Mir Bakhshi*.[483]

The provincial *Bakhshi* was the news writer for the province. His reports padded through the hands of the *Mir Bakhshi* at the capital. This made his work very important. The provincial *Bakhshis* report usually was a review of the work of all the *Mansabdars* in the province besides containing other material of

[482] Ibid.

[483] Lahori, *Badshah Nama*, vol.I, p.241, mentioned that when Mahabat Khan was sent against Jujhar Singh, Islam Khan was appointed *Bakhshi* to his army and other example Ishaq Beg Yazdi was appointed *Bakhshi* and *Waqianavis* to a contingent with Deccan campaign, vol.I, part.II, p.136

interest to the Emperor. The Mir Bakhshi was thus in a position to pass judgment on the work of all public servants working outside the capital. It helped all the *Mansabdars* stationed in the province to vigilant to comply with the direction of the *Mir Bakhshi* and not to incur his displeasure.

The Mughal Empire was divided into provinces, called *Subahs,* each *Subah* consisted of several *Sarkars* further subdivided into *mahals* or *Parganas*. Under Shahjahan his *wazir* Sadullah Khan established a new unit called a *Chaklah,*[484] which included a number of *parganas*. The *sarkar* was not abolished, so that the *Chaklah* did not replace it.

A province was under a governor who, in the beginning, was called a *Sipahsalar* or commander of armed forces.[485] As his title signifies his main duty was the defense of the area and the maintenance of peace and order. The provincial administration functioned under a *SipahSalar Subahdar,* assisted by a *diwan,* a *faujdar,* a *sadar,* an *amil*, a *bakhshi*, a *potdar*, a *kotwal*, a *waqia-nawis*. *Sarkar* are under *Faujdars* and an *amalguzar* for revenue collection. Thus at both the *Subah* and *Sarkar* level military commanders were responsible for defense, law and order, criminal justice and general supervision. *Faujdar* were principal assistants to the *subehdar* and commanded provincial troops which they employed to perform their functions including assistance in revenue

[484] *Dastur-ul-amal*, f. 34, Cf., I. H. Quraishi, *The Administration of the Mughal Empire,* p.227
[485] Ibid.

collection. It was their duty to regularly inspect the horses and accoutrement of troops under their command.[486]

Provincial army consisted of contingents required to be maintained by provincial officials as *Mansabdars*. Such contingents were a part of the regular army but by the virtue of their location they were made available to the *Faujdar*/*Subehdar*. Holders of *zat* ranks provided horses for *dagh* and other animals for administrative duties. Soldiers were provided by holders of *sawar mansab*. Another source of troops for provincial armies was contingents of minor *Rajas* and *zamindars*. For example the Rajas of *sirohi*, *Idar*, *Banswara* were attached to the *subah* of Gujarat. The strength of the provincial forces and their composition also indicates that the large infantry component was enrolled locally while the very small cavalry component must have been provided by the holders of *Sawar* rank in the provincial administration. The maintenance cost of provincial troops was met out of provincial revenues; there were a type of local militia like the *Sehbandis* and not a part of the regular army.[487]

The administrative system of Shahjahan maintained its vigour and vitality in its outward appearance. The campaigns in Balkh, Qandahar, and the Deccan, the prevalence of peace in the Empire are a sufficient indication of the stability of the government. In many Indian armies the war elephant was placed at the front and center and used in the offensive role normally filled by heavy infantry. Its great size and thick hide, when combined with protective gear, made it more

[486] Guru Charan Singh, *A Military History of Medieval India*, p.569
[487] Ibid.

resistant to arrows than even well armored foot soldiers. Combined with Central Asian style cavalry, it led to the Sultanate military establishment of "War Horse and Elephant" famously described by Simon Digby.[488]

Gunpowder weaponry had not yet made a significant impact on this system. Firearms were slowly filtering into northern India by three routes—from the east by trade with the Chinese, from the south by contact with the Portuguese and from the northwest via the Ottoman Empire and Persia. During the reign of the Lodi Dynasty, gunpowder technology was at roughly the same stage as during the late stages of the Hundred Years War in Europe. Cannon were mostly used in sieges. Large and unwieldy, they were used in conjunction with mines, sapping charges and traditional siege engines. This process was even more painstaking than it had been in the West. While there was no *trace italienne* in India, the region had already undergone a substantial revolution in fortifications, beginning as early as the 14th century, in response to the introduction of both primitive gunpowder bombs and more powerful trebuchets imported from Europe and the Middle East.[489] The resulting structures were massively overbuilt, with walls much thicker than those of corresponding medieval European castles. Truly effective small arms and field artillery were not yet on the scene. Battles in the open field were still largely decided on the backs of cavalry horses and elephants. Infantry did not have the tools needed to claim an equal place on the battlefield. It would be a new invader from the

[488] *Ain-i-Akbari*, Volume 1, chpt. 123

[489] Douglas E. Streusand (2011), Islamic Gunpowder Empires: Ottomans, Safavids, and Mughals, Philadelphia: Westview Press, ISBN 0813313597

north that provided those implements—and irrevocably changed the face of warfare in India.[490]

Babur, the First Mughal

Zahiruddin Muhammad Babur was born into Central Asian royalty. His lineage was especially exalted—he was a direct descendant of the great conquerors Chingiz Khan and Timur. As a child Babur inherited the throne of the small principality of Ferghana, located in present-day Uzbekistan. However the precocious prince had greater ambitions. He hoped to win control of Samarqand, one of Central Asia's greatest cities and the former capital of the mighty Timur. Babur's blood relation to Timur—through the patrilineal line, which was the acknowledged line of inheritance in Central Asian societies—meant that saw the re-establishment of the Timurid empire not just as a grand ambition but as his birthright. He launched his first attack on Samarqand at the tender age of 12. Babur would eventually capture—and lose—that city three times over. His dreams of a renewed Central Asian empire were never realized. Instead his fortunes fluctuated wildly. At various times, he was a head of state, a soldier of fortune and a glorified bandit chieftain. Later in life he claimed a new kingdom in Afghanistan, centered on the city of Kabul. This served as the base for his invasion of India in 1526—the campaign that would lead to his greatest triumphs. The ups and downs of Babur's career were very well

[490] Statistics and estimates of the distances covered by Mughal armies are collected in Raj Kumar Phul's *Armies of the Great Mughals: 1526 -1707* (New Delhi: Oriental Publishers, 1978). See p. 235 – 240. Major campaigns and sieges at Chittor, Ahmednagar and other locations were carried out during the rainy season, often in severe weather. See *Akbarnama*, Volume 2, chpt. 119, Akbarnama, Volume 3, chpt. 273 and *Akbarnama*, Volume 3, chpt. 4.

documented—by his own hand. Near the end of his life he wrote a memoir, later known as the *Baburnama*,[491] which became one of the first published autobiographies in the Islamic world.

The *Baburnama* revealed much about its author's character and personality. The most obvious trait was Babur's intelligence—his active, inquisitive mind. Babur took great notice of the world around him. Much of his memoir was devoted to the exotic customs and natural wonders of the places that he visited. His curiosity and attention to detail was evident in his description of a curious species of Indian deer and its uses:

People used the kalhara to catch other deer. They fastened a trap ring to the kalhara's antlers, then tied a large stone to its leg at the ankle, which prevented it from going far after it had snared a stag. When they had spotted a stag to be caught, they put the kalhara opposite to it. The stag, being quite pugnacious, immediately began to do battle. The animals clash, lock antlers and went back and forth, during which the stag's antlers became snared in the ring… If the wild stag wanted to escape, the tamed one could not go far because the stone was tied to its leg. In this way many stags were caught and then tamed to catch more deer.[492]

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[491] Zahir ud-Din Mohammad (10 September 2002). Thackston, Wheeler M., ed. The Baburnama: Memoirs of Babur, Prince and Emperor. New York: Modern Library. p. xlvi. ISBN 978-0-375-76137-9. In India the dynasty always called itself Gurkani, after Temür's title Gurkân, the Persianized form of the Mongolian kürägän, 'son-in-law,' a title he assumed after his marriage to a Genghisid princess.

[492] *Ain-i-Akbari*, Volume 1, chpt. 49. The special tax to cover supplies is described in *Ain-i-Akbari*, Volume 1, chpt. 198.

Babur was fascinated by such activities. He was deeply interested in how devices and systems worked, in finding clever solutions to problems. He was always ready to experiment and take risks. Babur was willing to take even greater risks on the battlefield. He was brave to the point of recklessness, leading his troops from the front and suffering several serious wounds in battle. At times he was as impulsive as he was courageous. This was especially true early in his career, when his plans of attack were equally likely to end in triumph or disaster. Babur was a pitiless enemy, but he was also nurturing friend. He remained loyal to his comrades and followers and was usually willing to forgive their mistakes. While he was ruthless in battle, he often granted mercy to defeated rivals. He had a keen understanding of human frailty—both in himself and in others.

Despite this wealth of insight, the *Baburnama* was far from a perfect document. There were a number of important omissions—both accidental and intentional. Sizeable portions of the text were left unfinished or lost outright. The most troublesome of these gaps covered an 11-year period from 1508 to 1519 which were failed to be documented. It was during this time that Babur and his army obtained an arsenal of firearms and retained the foreign advisors who would instruct them in their use. These were crucial years for the evolution of Babur's tactics and strategy and his growth as a commander—from brash boy general to future Emperor.

However, Cavalry—primarily horse archers on the traditional steppe model—remained a central element in his army both before and after the conversion to gunpowder. Cavalry of this type was prevalent both in Central Asia and in India, which had been dominated for centuries by a series of Turkish Muslim dynasties. When in the field with his troops, Babur himself fought as a mounted archer. He and his men used curved composite bows, made with alternating layers of horn, wood and sinew. These weapons were accurate at over 100 yards and still dangerous at ranges well in excess of 200 yards.[493] Side arms typically carried swords although Babur and others do make note of somewhat more exotic weapons like battle-axes, maces and flails. Protective gear usually consisted of a shield, helmet and hauberk. Most body armor was in the form of chain mail—Babur often referred to armor by the generic expression "mail"—but wealthier and better-outfitted troopers might use half plate or lamellar armor. The best equipped of them also had protective coverings for their horses. The most heavily armored soldiers were organized into units of heavy cavalry that used lances in addition to swords and were more capable of delivering shock attacks.[494]

Cavalry performed a number of crucial roles—scouting, screening, skirmishing, flanking, encircling and pursuing an enemy and exploiting breakthroughs. As vital as cavalry was, many experts still overstate its importance to Babur's cause. In his treatise *Mughal Warfare*, Jos Gommans argues for the supremacy of the cavalryman and the relative insignificance of

[493] Jean-Baptiste Tavernier, *Travels in India*, trans. V. Ball (Macmillan: London, 1889) p. 391
[494] Gommans, 186

the infantryman. "Without his horse, the Mughal soldier was a penniless as well as humorless figure. Besides, on numerous occasions the Mughal horse trooper had proven his superiority over numberless footsloggers."[495] G.J. Bryant describes how Babur "burst through the Hindu Kush with his trim, fleet cavalry army and swept all before him in Northern India," forgetting that the major battles of that campaign were contests of position in which defense was to prove its supremacy.[496] Much of the Mughals' defensive excellence was based on their infantry. Babur's account makes it clear that infantry was an important part of his force from the beginning. While the legions of Chingiz Khan and Timur were composed almost entirely of cavalry, the Central Asian armies of the 16th century—under the control of rulers who had become increasingly sedentary—fielded larger numbers of infantrymen. Babur mentions their presence in both his own ranks and those of his enemies—Turks, Uzbeks, Afghans and Indians. Cavalry still ruled the steppes, but not all battles took place in the open field. Babur fought many engagements under adverse conditions—during sieges, inside cities with street fighting and house-to-house combat, in mountains with rugged terrain and deep snow, during bad weather—where cavalry would struggle. Babur only noted the importance of fighting on foot in all of the above mentioned circumstances.

[495] Quartering and seizure of property as punitive measures are described in *Akbarnama*, Volume 3, chpt. 220. Outside of such extraordinary circumstances, involuntary boarding of troops in civilian homes was prohibited, as mentioned in *Mir'at-i Ahmadi*, chpt. 86.
[496] Gommans describes the production of gunpowder and the saltpeter trade in India in p. 149 – 151.

Unfortunately, Babur did not explain the composition of his infantry force in any great detail. Many of them were clearly irregulars raised at a moment of crisis or opportunity. Babur related how he encouraged the "rabble" of Samarqand to rise up and fight on his side during his first occupation of that city.[497] He also described a volunteer detachment of retainers and clansmen. He said, "There must have been between two and three hundred men, mostly on foot, with clubs in their hands, rough boots on their feet, and shepherd's cloaks on their backs."[498] Obviously such troops—poorly equipped and even more poorly trained—were of limited utility. They were usually sent home the moment they were no longer needed. In many other instances the "infantry" were dismounted cavalry, fighting in sieges or other close quarters where their horses were of no use. However there were also contingents of regular foot soldiers. The most important of these were the musketeers, but Babur's use of infantry predated the conversion to gunpowder. He mentioned special units of foot soldiers and skirmishers who were tasked with fighting in difficult terrain and attacking enemy fortifications. Even after the introduction of guns, Babur referred to separate units of musketeers and traditional style infantry armed with bows or edged weapons. While infantrymen presumably occupied a lower place on the social scale than their fellows in the cavalry, that place was not without honor. Babur referred to a trusted officer named Dost Sarpuli, "a foot soldier who had been promoted for bravery to the rank of castellan." Later he

[497] *Ain-i-Akbari*, Volume 1, chpt. 89

[498] See Chapter 1 of Simon Digby's *Warhorse and Elephant in the Delhi Sultanate: A Study of Military Supplies* (Oxford: Orient Monographs, 1971) for an assessment of the quality of Indian edged weapons, armor and other metal goods—and their superiority to similar items from abroad.

made note of infantrymen who received awards for valor and distinguished service during the Indian campaign.

Tarikh-I-Rashidi, described another Central Asian leader of the same period who did deploy mounted infantry in large numbers.[499] Babur made many references to individual foot soldiers armed with bows. He also discussed a weapon particularly suited to the infantryman—the crossbow. Crossbows were especially valuable during sieges because they were ideal for sniping. Unlike a conventional archer, a crossbowman had the ability to fire his weapon while lying prone and behind cover. He was capable of keeping it cocked and at full draw while carefully lining up a shot or waiting for a target to emerge.

In later battles, Babur used wagons and other obstacles to anchor his center and immediate flanks. The carts were arranged in a loose formation and infantry was deployed in advance of them as skirmishers and a first line of defense. Ropes or chains were strung between wagons in order to prevent the passage of enemy cavalry. Other obstructions—trenches, stakes, mantlets, and larger portable barricades—were also placed around their position. Musketeers fired from behind this cover while gunners served cart-mounted cannon. Reserves of infantry and cavalry waited behind the wagons. When these reserves were needed, the chains were lowered, allowing them to move forward through the gaps. Wagon formations were also used offensively. Carts and lighter artillery pieces accompanied by infantry could be moved forward to pressure enemy positions. Portable barricades fitted with wheels were also used in these

[499] See *Jahangirnama*, Volume 1, chpt. 5

maneuvers. These were particularly useful because they did not require draft animals—the soldiers could push them along as they advanced.

The most important addition to Babur's arsenal was gunpowder. The conversion to firearms is not discussed in the *Baburnama*, as it took place during a period covered in the lost section of that document. During the late 15th and early 16th century guns were gradually filtering into India from both Europe and East Asia. They were mainly confined to southern and coastal regions that conducted regular trade with gunpowder-using countries like China, Portugal and the Ottoman Empire. Firearms, especially small arms, were still something of a novelty in Afghanistan and North India at the time of Babur's conquests. Babur reported several engagements against enemies in this region who had never seen guns before. The time and place of Babur's first experience with gunpowder however remains uncertain. Babur must have gained access to firearms by way of Persia according to various researches around the world.

Most of Babur's artillery was of two basic types: The *kazan*, or heavy cannon—firing balls of about 25-30 pounds—were carried on four-wheeled wagons, with their barrels laid flat down the length of the cart. These big guns were especially useful against fortified positions. They eventually replaced Babur's traditional siege train of catapults and trebuchets. Unfortunately the heavy artillery was very cumbersome to maneuver and aim. The gun barrel was fixed to the carriage, making elevation and firing at varying ranges extremely difficult. The smaller *zarb zan*—3 or 4 pounders mounted on two-wheeled

carriages with trails and limbers similar to the European style—were a more flexible option. The lighter cannon—while not nearly as mobile as the horse-drawn guns of a later era—could be moved more easily during combat. Their smaller carts could also be tilted to adjust range and elevation. A third, less common type was the *firingi*, or "Frankish" cannon, an even smaller breech-loading model. As the name implies, its design was probably based on a European light naval gun. The last and rarest class of artillery was the heavy siege gun—also referred to as a *kazan or kazan-i-bozorg*—which fired projectiles of 100 pounds or more. These might have included both oversized cannon and true mortars that launched their payloads on a higher, shorter trajectory. Weapons of this size were extremely difficult to transport and were often cast on site in a portable foundry or assembled from pre-cast sections. All of the guns in Babur's artillery train were cast from brass or bronze and fired stone shot. Their maximum ranges varied from about 1600 yards to as much as three miles, although the distances for truly accurate, effective fire would be much shorter. Indirect fire was rarely used. Gun carriages—along with the other carts used in the wagon laager—were usually drawn by teams of oxen.[500]

The standard small arm in Babur's army was the *tufang*, or matchlock musket. These guns were very similar to models used in the Ottoman Empire. The earliest versions were probably made of brass instead of iron. This weapon had approximately the same range as a composite bow, but its rate of fire was about a third as great. However the musket shared many of the advantages of its

[500] *Baburnama*, Volume 1, chpt. 99

predecessor, the crossbow. It was much easier to master than the composite bow. It could be fired while in a prone or kneeling position and from behind cover. The matchlock could be cocked and held ready to fire as its owner lined up a difficult shot. Musketeers rarely stood in the open or fired their weapons from an "offhand" position. Instead they used any convenient object—an entrenchment, the side of a wagon, a battlement or barricade—to steady their aim. They usually carried forked shooting sticks to use when no other rest was available. Later models were equipped with bipods for use when kneeling or prone.[501] Muskets were also valuable for display and intimidation—especially against enemies who had little experience of firearms. One of the first recorded instances of execution by firing squad occurred during the Indian campaign, when Babur assigned teams of musketeers to dispose of prisoners. This novel method of eliminating unwanted captives—the sword was the usual instrument in such cases—may have been intended to provide the locals with a graphic demonstration of the new ruler's power.[502]

Babur's new army had been transformed by the introduction of firearms and mobile fortifications. While horse soldiers were still the most numerous element, it was the core of infantry, wagons and guns that made the force truly formidable. That center allowed Babur to withstand attacks by greater numbers and mount a strong defense even in open country with no other natural or manmade obstacles nearby. Firepower and a portable fortress combined with

[501] Reference is made to the Laws of Retaliation as applied to the disposition of prisoners in *Tarikh-i-Rashidi*, chpt. 102.
[502] *Baburnama*, Volume 1, chpt. 99

the mobility and shock ability of cavalry provided great flexibility and allowed Babur to dictate the pace of battle.

In the winter of 1526, Babur invaded India in an attempt to overthrow Sultan Ibrahim, the Afghan ruler of Agra and Delhi, and claim the throne for himself. Babur had previously conducted a number of raids into India, but reports of internal dissension in Ibrahim's kingdom suggested that now was the time to achieve a more decisive result. His plan seemed reckless at first. Distractions aside, the Sultan still had a vast advantage in manpower. When Babur approached from the northwest, Ibrahim mobilized a huge army and moved to block his invasion. Babur halted near the town of Panipat and prepared field fortifications in anticipation of an attack, arranging his army in a formation perpendicular to the enemy's expected line of advance. He had 700 carts ready, many of them apparently requisitioned from the surrounding countryside. Most of these were formed into a wagon laager at the center of the line. The musketeers and artillerymen were placed here, with other infantry to serve as their bodyguards. The buildings of the town anchored the right flank. A network of trenches and tripod-shaped portable barricades guarded the left. Gaps were left in the fortifications at intervals of about 150 yards to allow the passage of infantry or cavalry from the rear.

Babur immediately established himself as the new ruler in Agra, but his victory had not granted him undisputed control of the region. Led by Rana Sanga, a coalition of Hindu Rajput leaders had already risen to challenge the authority of Ibrahim. They saw his downfall as an opportunity. Allying themselves with the

remnants of the disaffected Lodi nobility, they moved to attack Babur while he was still new to the throne—and presumably still vulnerable. In March of 1527, Babur returned to battle—this time as the defender, not the invader. He intercepted the Rajput army near the village of Khanua. The fight that ensued would be his greatest victory—a near perfect application of the tools and tactics that he had worked so long to develop. Khanua would serve as a classic example of the Mughal battle. It is notable because it was particularly well documented. Instead of writing his own description, Babur selected a highly detailed after action report composed by a subordinate and grafted it into his memoir.

Crisis and Consolidation during the reign of Humayun, Sher Shah and Akbar

The victory at Khanua finally established Babur as the dominant power in North India. Unfortunately there was little time left to enjoy this achievement. Babur died three years later, at the age of 47. His son Humayun succeeded him as Emperor. The emerging dynasty was soon threatened by Farid Suri, later known as Sher Shah, the son of a minor Pashtun noble and a rising warlord who sought to restore the Afghan empire of the late Sultan Ibrahim.[503] Farid had risen to prominence as one of the highest ranking military commanders in the Lodi province of Bihar. After Babur's conquests he swore allegiance to the new Mughal state and retained a sizeable land grant. His oath, however, was far

[503] See *The History of India*, Volume 4, chpt. 108 (*Tarikh-i-Sher Shah*) for an account of how Sher Shah managed a mutiny by a regiment of cavalry. He eventually ruled in favor of the striking troops and disciplined their commander.

from sincere. After Babur's death he plotted to build a power base in Bihar and Bengal, at the far eastern reaches of the Empire and far from the prying eyes of the Emperor's agents. The inattention of the new ruler, Humayun, and the scheming of his younger brothers made this task all the easier. Babur's son was not nearly the commander or leader that his father was. Yet while Sher Shah schemed to overthrow the Mughals and restore the old political order, he had no plan to roll back their military innovations. Instead he studied their tactics and technology and improved upon them. He assembled his own force of cavalry, artillery and musket-armed foot soldiers, adding innovations such as infantry drill and a rationalized system of ranks and pay grades. He also implemented a census and conscription for ethnic Afghans and veterans of the old Lodi army. Whatever was the outcome of Sher Shah's campaigns, the traditional Indian military system did not return.

After Sher Shah finally abandoned all pretense and declared open war, he met the Emperor's armies in two major battles. He was victorious in both of these engagements. Humayun's failure forced him into temporary exile and nearly destroyed the fledgling Mughal state. However, the battles at Chausa in 1539 and Kanauj in 1540 were not important so much for the details of their conduct or even for their outcome. Neither was a fair test of Mughal leadership or tactics. Sher Shah made very certain of that. He well understood the lethality of the new weapons and the hazards of combat under the new system and distinguished himself through his mastery of deception and evasive, Fabian tactics, only offering battle under the most ideal circumstances. He preferred

raids on supply lines and sieges of isolated outposts until the enemy was sufficiently worn down physically and mentally to be defeated at minimal cost. At Chausa Sher Shah duped Humayun by pretending to accept a cease fire and then routed his forces with a surprise night attack. Kanauj was lost after a large body of camp followers and laborers panicked at the sight of the advancing enemy and tried to crowd inside the wagon laager with Humayun's soldiers. The Mughals had not been able to make good their casualties after Chausa, and their ranks were filled out with many hastily recruited, inexperienced troops that panicked during this confusion. Sher Shah's forces took advantage of their disorder and overran their positions.

The most interesting aspect of these battles, however, is the composition of the armies involved. Both sides had arrayed and equipped their forces in direct imitation of Babur's example, using wagons, artillery and musket-armed infantry. By this time the number of weapons deployed had grown vastly, from dozens of cannon to hundreds. Humayun was reported to have 700 light and 21 heavy artillery pieces at Kanauj, backed up by thousands of musketeers. This arsenal may have been even larger before the losses at Chausa. Sher Shah's force was similarly armed.[504] With this much firepower in play, defense had become paramount. Few commanders wished to risk an assault once an enemy had settled into its field fortifications. Even blasting apart such a position would be difficult—the limited mobility of artillery made it much more effective in defense than on the attack. The armies at Chausa, like those at the

[504] Babur punished soldiers found absent from guard duty by having their noses slit. See *Baburnama*, Volume 1, chpt. 100.

Garigliano River and Pavia spent weeks sulking behind their barricades before Sher Shah's trickery decided the issue. Aside from outright treachery there were few options. Screening cavalry made it very difficult to surprise an army on the move, and well-trained troops could set up a wagon laager very quickly. One possible plan was to throw a wide cordon around the enemy, denying him supplies and reinforcements. That tactic might turn a strong defensive position into a trap, but it would take overwhelming numbers and materiel to successfully contain and outlast the enemy. The attacker might also prevail in a long-range artillery duel—but only if he had more cannon or more proficient gunners than his opponent. Such a slugging match would also result in terrible casualties—for the winner as well as the loser. While Humayun's battles represented a setback for the Mughal cause, they clearly illustrated just how thoroughly Babur had changed the face of battle in India. Even after his death he continued to influence the conduct of war in the subcontinent. The traditional balance of power based on the warhorse and elephant was gone forever. Artillery and infantry had emerged as new arms of decision.[505]

The new military system would be further refined and perfected by Babur's grandson, Akbar. Akbar was crowned Emperor in 1556 at the age of 12, after the untimely death of his father. Before his fatal fall down a flight of stairs, Humayun had led a successful re-invasion of India, exploiting a succession crisis in Sher Shah's kingdom. Unfortunately for the Afghans, the Suri dynasty was even more accident prone than the Mughals. Two freak mishaps in the

[505] See Monserrate p. 82 for a description of how Akbar had an officer publically stripped, thrown into a river and threatened with enslavement for disobeying orders.

space of a few years—Sher Shah blown up by a defective rocket, his son Islam Shah dead after a botched medical procedure—left the throne in the hands of a child king and provoked a civil war. Instead of a united front the resurgent Mughals faced a disjointed group of rivals, who they defeated in detail. The task of consolidating these gains was left to the general Bairam Khan, who was appointed as regent by an impromptu conclave of nobles. His achievements included a crucial victory at the Second Battle of Panipat, which led to the demise of the famous mercenary captain, Hemu—the most capable and dangerous remaining contender for possession of Delhi. Despite Bairam Khan's capable stewardship, the young Emperor resented his lack of control and had frequent, bitter arguments with the regent. He cultivated secret alliances with a number of nobles, and in 1560 he used this faction to outmaneuver Bairam Khan and force him into exile. It would take two more years of intrigue—punctuated by occasional violence—for Akbar to purge his enemies in the court and claim uncontested authority.

Akbar's compelling traits and leadership qualities were evident by this time. He was arrogant and stubborn, but he was as clever as he was strong willed. He applied a fierce intelligence to any problem placed before him. While Akbar exhibited great physical bravery—he became famous for leading from the front and exposing himself to personal danger on the battlefield—he was more remarkable for his intellectual courage. He did not fear change and often pursued innovative and unorthodox solutions. A contemporary observer described his hunger for knowledge.

He was a great patron of learning, and always keeps around him erudite men, who were directed to discuss before him philosophy, theology and religion, and to recount to him the history of great kings and glorious deeds of the past. He had an excellent judgment and a good memory, and had attained considerable knowledge of many subjects by means of constant and patient listening to such discussions. He had also become able to clearly and lucidly expound difficult matters. He was capable of giving his opinions on any question so shrewdly and keenly. He excelled many of his most learned subjects in eloquence, as well as in that authority and dignity which befits a King.[506] Like his grandfather, Akbar was fascinated by gadgets, machinery and complex systems.

The most important of these were composed by Abu al-Fazl, Akbar's friend and trusted advisor. The *Akbarnama* served as the Emperor's official biography while the *Ain-i-Akbari* provided a comprehensive almanac of the Empire. These narratives illustrate how Akbar went about building a formidable military machine—and an even more formidable state. Technology was an essential element of Akbar's system as it evolved over the latter half of the 16th century. He employed the same basic tools as Babur and Humayun—the musket and the cannon—but he was able to implement much more refined and capable versions of these weapons. The improvements went beyond gains in performance, durability and reliability. The new equipment was much more diverse, with specialized models for every need. This was especially true in the

[506] The demise of Tardi Beg is recounted in *Akbarnama*, Volume 2, chpt. 14.

area of artillery. Babur's army deployed four basic types of cannon. Akbar's forces had over a dozen different models. The new weapons were concentrated at opposite ends of the spectrum. Akbar saw a need for smaller, easily portable guns—true field artillery. He experimented with bronze and wrought iron cannon that were light enough to be pulled by horses instead of teams of oxen. In the later Empire these guns would be known as the "artillery of the stirrup." They were made from wrought iron staves and hoops surrounded by reinforcing layers of copper or brass sheeting. This was an especially light and inexpensive design, but the safety issues were obvious, and many artillerymen were understandably reluctant to use them.

The Mughals also fielded a variety of even smaller pieces. Swivel guns became very popular for antipersonnel use and close-in defense—they were fired from battlements, the decks of ships and from inside wagon laagers. There were also experiments with the *jezail*, an intermediate form midway between a small swivel gun and a large matchlock. This was an actual "musket" or "wall gun" according to the European terminology of the day—as opposed to the smaller "arquebus." Perhaps the most ingenious type of light cannon was the *gajnal* or *chaturnal*. This was a swivel gun attached by a harness to a camel's back. It could be operated by a single person, who controlled the camel and served the gun from a special saddle mounted on the animal's rump. A skilled gunner could fire and reload without dismounting. Another variant of this weapon was designed to be fired from an elephant. These guns were not as powerful as conventional cannon, and the animals carrying them had to stop for every shot.

Despite these limitations, however, they offered great tactical flexibility. Camel guns were inexpensive and could be fielded in great numbers—and they were "galloper guns" in every sense of the word, able to move much faster than ordinary light artillery drawn by oxen or horses.

There were also developments at the other extreme. Akbar's forces deployed a number of super-heavy siege guns and mortars. These were similar in their basic form to models used by Babur, but they were much, much larger. Typical examples fired projectiles ranging from 250 – 700 pounds, but even these were dwarfed by a few true giants. One gargantuan mortar used at the siege of Ranthambor was reported to launch a payload of over 3,000 pounds. It required 1,000 oxen and several elephants for transport. The intimidation and outright terror inspired by these monstrous weapons was as effective as the physical damage they inflicted. They were a tangible expression of the power and might of the Empire.

As the artillery changed, so did the ammunition. Stone shot was still widely used, but metal cannon balls became more common. Most of these were made of brass. Brass was expensive in bulk, but it did offer some advantages. It was much easier to work than stone. In a hollow version, brass shot was capable of being manufactured, unlike stone projectiles which conserved metal. When propelled by an equivalent powder charge, a hollow ball traveled further and it could travel the same distance with a lesser charge in the interests of economy. The most evident drawback was that a lighter projectile did not have the same force at impact. This problem, however, was easily remedied. The adoption of

hollow shot inevitably led to the concept of explosive shells. During Akbar's reign the Mughals began to use hollow brass cannon balls packed with black powder. These were fitted with slow-burning fuses that were lit by the flash of the gun's discharge and designed to ignite the powder charge when the shell ruptured on impact.[507]

Akbar was also fond of another type of explosive ordnance—the rocket. Rockets actually predated other gunpowder weapons—they had been present in India since at least the 14th century. Rockets were an excellent anti-personnel weapon, but they were particularly useful against enemy cavalry and elephants—their shrieking sound terrified animals. The Mughals used a special type with a built-in whistle in order to enhance this effect. The West adopted Indian military technology in terms of Rocketry. The British Congreve rocket was designed in imitation of the weapons used by Indian enemies in the wars of colonization. It remained in service until the late 19th century and was a distant ancestor to the various military rockets and missiles in use today. Small arms were also improved under Akbar's watch. The brass matchlock musket used by Babur's troops was replaced by sturdier designs made of iron or steel. Further refinements to the basic infantry musket included a more reliable matchlock mechanism, slings, recoil pads and the addition of iron sights.

[507] For examples of leaders snooping on their subordinates, see Akbarnama, Volume 2, chpt. 48, where the young Akbar and the regent Bairam Khan apparently spied on each other, and *The History of India*, Volume 4, chpt. 108 (*Tarikh-i-Sher Shah*). The mutiny mentioned above (note 43) was resolved with the help of Sher Shah's agents, who reported the commander's misconduct.

In some ways this model was actually superior to its Western counterpart. The Mughals placed a premium on marksmanship and accuracy—Akbar himself was an avid hunter and target shooter—and designed accordingly. War elephants still accompanied his armies, but they no longer occupied their traditional privileged position in the vanguard. Instead they were kept in the rear and used to exploit breakthroughs or held back as a defense of last resort. They often served as a sort of observation platform and mobile command post, but this role was not without risk. On a battlefield dominated by gunpowder weapons, elephants were the biggest targets around. Experiments with elephant body armor and howdahs turned into armored fighting compartments did little to solve this problem. A truly bulletproof suit of armor would be too heavy for any elephant to carry. Even if the animal and its passengers could be fully protected, there was no way to shield the driver, seated in his vulnerable position right behind the head.[508]

Abul-Fazl gave Akbar personal credit for many of the inventions used in service of the Empire.[509] As intelligent as Akbar was, such assertions overstated the facts. Many of the innovations in artillery and small arms were probably based on European examples. The famous camel gun was most likely invented in Egypt. Like Babur, Akbar was not afraid to steal a good idea. His genius lay not in creating devices from whole cloth but in correctly judging the value and potential of existing tools and combining them into new systems. Yet the efforts of the Emperor and his corps of advisors and engineers were part of

[508] Gommans describes news writers and public announcements in pages 92 – 94.
[509] The great sieges are described in *Akbarnama*, Volume 2, chapters 314 –339.

an even larger whole. Akbar's reign was a time of invention and innovation all over India—by the Mughals, their allies and their enemies. Many secret weapons were designed and tested by military professionals and amateurs alike. They ranged from primitive grenade launchers and bazookas to fortresses equipped with revolving gun turrets

Akbar's innovations extended beyond the realm of technology. The success of his military arose as much from the adept management of manpower as it did from the mastery of machines. The Mughal army continued to rely on the three core elements of Babur's regime—horse archers, musket-equipped infantry and artillery, but the basic components were supplemented by a wide variety of specialized units. Among these were a sizeable contingent of mounted infantry and the corps of *shamsherbaz*—"sword wielders" or "gladiators"—elite infantry companies of highly skilled swordsmen and martial artists. The gladiator troops included specialists in a variety of fighting styles such as the sword and buckler and the two-handed sword.

Akbar created non-combat units for every conceivable purpose. They included military, porters, pioneers and combat engineers, police, logisticians, couriers, spies, craftsmen, official news writers and propagandists. The Mughal army was especially formidable because its technology and tactics were supplemented by a finely tuned network of logistics, communications and expertise. Akbar himself acted as commander in chief of the army. His senior military advisor acted as its chief of staff. The Mughal military had two primary administrative divisions—a standing army under the direct control of

the Crown and the troops commanded by senior officers, or *mansabdars* which has been discussed in the chapter above.

The number of sailors in a ship varies according to the size of the vessel. In large ships there are twelve classes:

1. The *Nakhuda*, or owner of the ship - He fixes the course of the ship.
2. The *Mu'allim*, or Captain - He must be acquainted with the depths and the shallow places of the ocean, and must know astronomy. It is he who guides the ship to her destination, and prevents her from falling into dangers.
3. The *Tandil*, or chief of the *khalacis*, or sailors.
4. The *Nakhudakhashab* - He supplies the passengers with firewood and straw, and assists in shipping and unlading the cargo.
5. The *Sarhang*, or mate - superintends the docking and landing of the ship, and often acts for the *Mu'allim.*
6. The *Bhandárí* has the charge of the stores.
7. The *Karrani* is a writer who keeps the accounts of the ship, and serves out water to the passengers.
8. The *Sukkangir*, or helmsman - He steers the ship according to the orders of the *Mu'allim.* Some ships carry several helmsmen, but never more than twenty.
9. The *Panjari* looks out from the top of the mast, and gives notice when he sees land, or a ship, or a coming storm.

10. The *Gumti* belongs to the class of *khalacis.* He throws out the water which has leaked through the ship.

11. The *Topandaz*, or gunner, is required in naval fights; their number depends on the size of the ship.

12. The *Kharwah*, or common sailor - They set and furl the sails. Some of them perform the duty of divers, and stop leaks, or set the anchor free when it sticks fast.

The amount of their wages varies, and depends on the voyage, or *kush*, as seamen call it. In the harbor… a *Nakhuda* gets 400 [Rupees]; besides he is allowed four *malikh*, or cabins, which he fills with wares for his own profit.[510] Every ship is divided into several divisions, for the accommodation of passengers and the stowage of goods, each of the divisions being called a *malikh.*

The goals of Akbar extended beyond economy and administration. He sought to establish a viable political and ideological foundation for his state. Akbar's definition of kingship was absolutist. . He demanded total obedience from the least and the greatest of his subjects. Akbar did not see himself as first among equals or simply the most powerful prince or warlord around. He claimed to be a uniquely capable leader appointed by God to bring peace, order and prosperity to India and—at least in theory—the world. His legitimacy,

[510] *Ain-I-Akbari*, 279. For detailed discussion of Mughal military ranks and regulations see Ali, M. Athar. "Organization of the Nobility: Mansab, Pay, Conditions of Service," in *Warfare and Weaponry in South Asia,* 232 -274 and Shireen Moosvi, *The Economy of the Mughal Empire c. 1595: A Statistical Study* (New Delhi: Oxford university, 1987), Chapters 9 and 10.

however, was based on more than grandiose claims or his status as heir to Timur and Chingiz Khan. In exchange for their loyalty, he offered his subjects a system of government based on diversity, tolerance and opportunity. There was no longer any hereditary elite. The clique of Central Asian chiefs who saw themselves as the rightful ruling class were finally convinced—literally at gunpoint—of the error of their assumptions. The only nobles by blood were members of the royal family. The official definition of "noble" was quantitative, not qualitative. It simply referred to senior officials with a numerical rank above 500 on the civil service pay scale.

It can therefore be derived that if a force is large enough, it can absorb any conceivable casualties and most importantly draws the enemy into submission. The Mughals mobilized their vast resources to create armies massive enough to flow across the landscape like a flood, bypassing and surrounding any obstacles. Stubborn enemy units or defensive positions could be cordoned off and neutralized instead of attacked directly. Babur's largest army was probably no more than 25,000 strong. Akbar had more than 300,000 men under arms, and he led field armies of over 100,000 as far away as Afghanistan. Therefore, Akbar's successors would have had an army stronger if the Emperors were strong.[511]

[511] According to Abu Fazl there were roughly 150,000 cavalry in the mansabdari contingents and about 75,000 infantry and an unspecified number of cavalry in the replacement pool. There were 12,000 musketeers in the royal guard and at least that many cavalry. "Gladiators," mercenaries, local militia units and auxiliaries could be added to these numbers. Monserrate accompanied a Mughal field army that was reportedly composed of 50,000 cavalry and an unspecified but much larger number of infantry. See Monserrate 83.

CHAPTER 6

Role of Persians in the Society of Mughal India (Culture)

Introduction

The incorporating character of Indian culture through centuries is known to all. Indian culture is living evidence of the principle that culture is the quality of a land and its people. Assimilation and synthesis have been the procedure of development of Indian civilization. A particular blend of geographical elements and historical powers had set India apart as a distinct socio-political element. A wide range of groups have contributed to the Indian civilization. In spite of the fact that it may not be recognizable, the present Indian civilization is a blend of numerous past civilizations. Without these past civilizations, India would not have been where it is today. That is the reason all past civilizations are so critical to present day India.

When several ethnic groups came to India and made India their home incorporate the Central Asians, Indo-Aryans, the Greeks, the Iranians, the Shakas, the Kushans, the Arabs, the Hunas and the Turks, etc. Indeed, even the Turkman, the Uzbeks, the Afghans and the Turanians, migrated during the medieval times and never left India ever since. The movement of various individuals into India has been a main consideration in the improvement of different parts of India's life and culture. With multi-ethnic vagrants accompanied their belief patterns, value structures and social frameworks. All

of this added to the growing variety of the human component in a developing plural society of India.

The Turkish Sultans and the Mughal Kings controlled major parts of India with their capital at Delhi. As far as cultural profundity was concerned, power and extensive social repercussions were the two most significant impacts on the creation of distinct Indian culture are those of the antiquated Indo-Aryan and the medieval Iranian and Central Asian fragments. This chapter has woven into the surface of India's natural existence which is a rich design of composite culture by interlacing the strings of the Indian, the Iranian and the Central Asian making a new union of culture.

Prior to advent of Mughal rule in India, India had close political and cultural ties with Central Asia for many centuries. But these ties became stronger after the establishment of Mughal rule. The founder of Mughal dynasty, Zahirudd-Din Muhammad Babur who was the direct descendant of Timur spent most of his life in that region. Achievements gained in ancient times were continued further by building magnificent structures during the medieval period. Various elements helped the growth of culture in the country.[512]

Turkish states developed in various parts of the Indian peninsula during that time. The Delhi - Turkish Sultanates which ruled from 1206-1526 in Northern part of India including Balban, the Kutbs, Khiljis, Syeds, Tughlaqs and Lodis.

[512] Nazir Ahmad- "Timurid Mss. of Artistic and historical value in Indian collections". (Introduction)

The last Lodi Sultan Ibrahim Lodi was defeated by Babur. Babur founded the Mughal state which encompassed the major part of the Indian territories.[513]

The initial hundred years of Delhi Sultanate were a time of complete supremacy of the Turkish. The Central Asian Turks viewed themselves as heirs of an historical custom which was better than the rest of the Indian Muslims. But, they tested the pretense of prevalence of the Ilbari Turks and championed themselves. The situation of local Muslims and non Muslim enhanced under the Tughlaqs and Khiljis. Firoz Shah Tughluq was married to a Hindu woman belonging to the Gujar community. Fatah Khan was Firoz Tughlaq's son from his Gujar spouse.[514]

Local traditions had begun affecting the social activity of the foreign Muslims a lot prior. The non-Muslims who converted to Islam perpetually practiced their social traditions and added local tinge to the lifestyle of the Turks in India. The utilization of betel-leaf became famous among the foreigners.[515] Turks adopted rituals in association with birth, death and marriage. Music and its forms became popular and were acknowledged by local people.

The individuals who lived in towns, began living like their Persian and Turkish counterparts appended to the military army. There were Turkish showers and bakeries in the bigger towns. This empowered destitute individuals to interact

[513] Y. Hikmet Bayur, Hindistan Tarihi, Ankara, 1987
[514] Mirat-i-Sikandari, Bombay, 1308 AH, p. 6
[515] Nuh Sipihr.

with the rich and the new culture brought by the Central Asian Turks and Iranians.

Sultan did not to force their religious laws on non-Muslim individuals. They had their own courts to decide civil disputes. They were not compelled to pursue the religious laws of Islamic organizations for deciding their criminal cases. They were allowed to go to pilgrimage, with the exception of during the rule of Firoz Tughlaq. They were allowed to dress as per their wishes and could also imitate the way their rulers dressed. Along these lines another lifestyle began in India. They were permitted to develop new temples and make repairs and fixtures to old structures without any restriction, if required.[516]

During this time prominent headway were made in the field of Literature and Language. Present day Indian dialects which had begun growing before ended up as significant verses of writing. These dialects were advanced by Bhakti saints. Persian and Arabic turned into a piece of Indian culture.

The language of culture during that time was Persian. Both Persian and Arabic language thrived at Ghazni during the times of Mahmud and his successor. Abul Faraj Runi and Mas'ud Sa' d Salman were popular poets during Ghaznavid period at Lahore. Qasidas of these writers are the main impression of Indo-Persian verse. Relocation of elite refugee from Khurasan and Central Asia before invasion of the Mongols and support given by the Delhi Sultans,

[516] Reports Archaeological survey of India for temples newly built or dating from earlier times.

assumed a significant role in the advancement of Persian literature and language in India.

History writing likewise turned into a significant segment of Indian literature. New styles of literary compositions additionally became affected by Persians. The Bhakti movement spread all through the nation as they protested against caste system and wanted to abolish it. This development which began hundreds of years prior was best represented by Nanak and Kabir as religious bias, recognition of formal ceremonies and superstitions were disliked by them.

Historians like Muhammad Aufi and Minhaj Siraj were in the court of Nasiruddin Qabacha in Multan. Last they came to Delhi in the administration of Shamsuddin Iltutmish. Mongols decimated the cultural center, similar to Central Asia and Baghdad. After Ghazni and Lahore, Delhi turned into the most significant cultural center because researchers, men of letters and artists from those districts moved to Delhi. Because of this deluge some productive works had been finished during this time. Ziyauddin Barani has clarified in insight regarding those writers, ministers, researchers, thinkers, stargazers, doctors and history specialists who came to Delhi during the rule of Alauddin Khilji.[517] Poetic works of Amir Khusrau Dehlavi, the historical works of Ziyauddin Barani and the malfuzat of Shayakh Nizamuddin Aulia are the

[517] Barani, pp. 341-55.

example of cultural richness of this period. One can understand well that why Amir Khusrau boasted Delhi.[518]

Afghans, Persians, Arabs and Turks entered India with influence of spiritual and social aspects from clergy, intellectuals, warriors and technicians leading Indian society towards a composite culture.

Teaching and improvement of educational foundations were considered important. State encouraged this by giving great instructors. With Islamic lessons and secular subjects like history, philosophy, ethics, physics, biology, chemistry, astronomy and mathematics were also taught. On the rudimentary level, administration of the researchers, who had specialization in various parts of learning were taken. Sadr-I-Jahan was the person in control who used to give land to Imams, Qazis and researchers of different branches too. Lessons in the Maqamat-I-Hariri were taken by Shaykh Nizamuddin Auliya from Maulana Shamsul Mulk.[519]

Madrasas were built for higher studies and two major madrasas were set up by Sultan Iltutmish, called Mu'izziya and Nasiriya.[520] Qazi Minhaj Siraj who was the creator of Tabaqat-I-Nasiri, was the head of this school who was considered to be a powerful orator. Hazrat Nizamuddin Auliya used to go to his sermons each Monday. On one such event, a saint was profoundly moved by the tearned Qazi' s discourse, alluded to this occurrence decades later. Individuals stated

[518] Nuh Sipihr, pp. 143-145.
[519] The Akhbar-ul-Akhyar, Delhi, 1280 AH, p. 77.
[520] Tabaqat-i-Nasiri, p. 188.

that Minhaj Siraj ought to have been given the workplace of Shaykh-ul-Islam, rather than being made Qazi-ul-Quzzat.[521]

Madrasas were built in Devkot and other places of Bengal.[522] Another madrasa was built in Delhi close to Hau-i-Atai. The garden and building of these madrasas were so beautiful that academicians built their houses close to the madrasas.[523] Barani additionally adulated the high astuteness of Najmuddin Samarqandi, who was the chief of that institute (madrasa). Tafsir, Hadith and Fiqh were tought in those madrasas.

Every madrasa had a library loaded with noteworthy accumulations of contemporary textbooks and rare compositions composed by Indian and foreign scholars. The art of calligraphy was taught to every single student.

The intellectual atmosphere was improved by scholars who migrated from Iran and Central Asia and were a part of the madrasas. During Ghiyasuddin Balban's rule, more than fifteen princes from Iran, Central Asia and Khurasan were recruited in Delhi. The prices were accompanied by a few great men of letters.[524] Many princes, maliks, Khans and men of letters opted for refugee at the court of Iltutmish owing to the marauding hordes of Chengiz Khan. They were embraced and their needs were fulfilled.[525] With contact between North India and Central Asia became tough after the establishment of Mongol rule in

[521] Faw'id Fuwad, p. 253.
[522] The Tabaqat-i-Nasiri, pp. 559-60. (Eng. Tr.)
[523] Barani, pp. 562-65.
[524] Tarikh-i-Firishta, Eng. Tr. By Briggs, Vol. I, pp. 252-53.
[525] Barani, p. 27.

the North-West India border, contact with Iran through sea route still continued.

Mysticism, Literature, ethics and history were taught in North India and in Southern India, focus was given to Science. During the rule of Bahamani Kingdom, subjects like logic, Geometry and botany were encouraged. Astronomy was the subject of interest of Bahmani Sultan Tajuddin Firoz and his work on an observatory near Daulatabad in early 15th century proved is area of interest and Hakim Hasan Gilani, an astronomer from Gilan was appointed to administer the installation of the observatory. The project could not be materialized due to his unfortunate death.[526]

Syed Gesu Daraz was a famous saint of that period who authored several books on mysticism and is till date considered popular for his scholarship on subjects related to religion. Bengal also played a vital role for development of new culture during 13th century as Ghiyasuddin 'Iwaz Khalji played a significant role in the spread of culture and education. The foundation of a college, mosque and a guest house at Lakhnauti was laid by him. He wholeheartedly upheld the men of letters and literary activities.[527]

Apart from the growth of Islamic studies, Bengali vernacular was also patronaged. The Ramayana and the Mahabharata were the first to be converted into Bengali language. Nasiruddin Bughra Khan was the principal ruler who requested the primary translation of Mahabharata in Bengali language. His

[526] The Bahamanis ofthe Deccan, Briggs, Vol. I, p. 310.
[527] Stewart, History of Bengal, Lond.on, 1813, pp. 56-57.

court had turned into an incredible place for the proliferation and advancement of Persian language. Other than local researchers, artists and illuminating personalities like Amir Khusrau Dehlavi were invited to his court. Mirza Muhammad Sadiq Isfahani's work subh-I-sadiq provided the names of numerous famous Persian researchers, artists, ulemas and writers who had either lived in Bengal or visited there. Apart from Ramayana, Mahabharata and Bhagwad Gita were likewise converted into Bengali language. Ramayana was interpreted in Bengali verse by Krittivasa Ojha in mid fifteenth century.

Alauddin Hussain Shah during fifteenth and mid sixteenth century was not just keen on the advancement of Bengali language yet being an educated king himself disparaged researchers and established a school in the memory of an acclaimed saint called Noor Qutb-ul-Alam.[528]

The majority of the early scholars had gotten their education from the contemporary scholastic focus like Samarkand and Bukhara in Central Asia. They had settled in India and embodied trans-Indus convention. The earliest history of Persian poets such as Lubab-ul-Albab created by Muhammad Aufi belonged to Bukhara in Central Asia. The Jawami'- ul-Hikayat wa Lawami-ur-Riwayat is a voluminous reference book composed by him is considered as a treasury of information about early periods.

The most celebrated scholarly character of Delhi Sultanate was Amir Khusrau. Progressively he served seven leaders of Delhi and watched their ascent and

[528] Stewart, History of Bengal, London, 1813, p. 113.

decline for fifty years. He could do this since he was not having any interest for politics of the court somewhat dependent on simply scholastic thought. His extraordinary accomplishments were in the field of writing, music and delivering an lively record of his time. He was a poet as well as in the meantime a savant, historian and a Sufi.[529] Poems identified with contemporary occasions composed by Amir Khusrau are additionally acclaimed till today.

The genuine contact between the two societies of India and Iran began with the control of Multan and Punjab by Mahmoud of Ghazni who was successful in establishing Ghaznavi dynasty. After Muhammad Ghori, his general Qutubuddin Aibak turned into the leader of India, which came to be known as Delhi Sultanate which was an epochmaking occasion in the history of India. India had a reasonable level of political solidarity.[530] Hindus and Muslims began living together. The procedure of social comprehension began, which gave results after three centuries. Babur's grandson Akbar attempted cognizant endeavors to resuscitate the national solidarity of India. Delhi Sultanate became the centre which pulled in writers, commanders, saints and scholars during the times of various Sultans from Central Asia, Iran and Afghanistan. Sufis and Bhakti saints assumed a significant job in uniting the two communities. Hinduism and Islamic Tasavwuf could join the entire of India in affection and devotion.

[529] Barani, p. 359.
[530] S. Abid Hussain, The National Culture of India, p. 73, National Book Trust, 1978.

Earlier, Hindus remained far from the Muslims yet they came nearer to one another. Some Sultans requested the translation of Sanskrit books into Persian language. Hindus belonging to high castes began learning Persian language and Islamic literature too. There were examples where Muslims married Hindu women and owing to these associations, Hindu culture became a part of Muslim family and vice versa. Muslims who were converted never left their traditions. These things influenced the general public and Sufis engendered the approach of harmony as solidarity between individuals of various religion was taught by them.

Bhakti movement started when the Hindu-Muslim interaction began affecting each other's beliefs. The famous leaders of Bhakti movements are Gurunanak Devji, Swami Rama Nand, Guru Korakh Nath, Kabir, Khawja Gesudaraz, Khawja Moinuddin Chishti and so on. In the 13^{th} century, these leaders worked hard to lessen the hatred amongst them.

Khawja Moinuddin Chishti was occupant of Central Asia. In twelfth century AD he came to Ajmer for his spiritual fulfillment. Ajmer turned into the focal point of Hindu-Muslim solidarity. Indeed, even today, individuals have faith in his lessons. Khawja Gesudaraz was occupant of Delhi. In 1339 AD, he moved to the city of Gulbarga in south India and propagated Hindu-Muslim solidarity. He died in 1432 AD and is still recognized as an extraordinary unifying power between the people of the nation even today.

"Khayal" turned out to be well known among Muslims and Hindus, which is said to be concocted by Sultan Hussain Sharqui of Jaunpur. The old style Hindu style "Dhrupad" was abundantly enjoyed by Muslims. "Nauras", a book on music composed by the lord of Bijapur, Ibrahim Adil Shah, who was an extraordinary supporter of fine arts and admirer of music. Music became one of the sources which brought communities closer.

Sultans of Delhi were in favor of developing infrastructures. Few structures, tombs and landmarks still exist which prove their likings and affection towards the field of architecture. Architecture was the principle field in which the foreigners offered articulation to their adoration for beauty. Indian style of architecture and the Iranian and Central Asian style came together resulting in a new form of architecture.

Indo-Central Asian and Indo-Iranian style of architecture was additionally embraced by the Kings of Gujarat, Deccan and Bengal during fourteenth century. Rajas of Rajasthan and Bundelkhand additionally embraced this style with certain changes. Qutub Minar, Quwatul-Islam mosque in Delhi and Jama Masjid of Ajmer are examples of this style during early medieval India. Additionally the Arabic content in the kufic style of calligraphy on these structures create an excellent impact which is the declaration of the source from where they have come.

Apart from Deccan, Gujarat and Bengal, Kashmir was the state during this period, which was to a great extent influenced by this procedure of the mixing

of two cultures, explicitly during the regime of Sultan Zainul Abedin, the ruler of Kashmir. A concordance was made among the people. He was an incredible ruler, free from religious partiality, translated numerous Sanskrit books into Persian and was extraordinary benefactor of artworks and crafts.

The Mughals of Central Asia were not having only a strong Army, the cannon and the gun powder but they had a rich cultural heritage of Central Asia with them. They not only carried forward their Central Asian traditions but also adapted the social traditions and cultures of India. They assimilated themselves in the local environment. Every aspect of their life affected the local culture. With the fusion of the two cultures, a new and a common culture could flourish. The Mughal state established by Babur was a cultural state in which local people co-operated and played an important role. Every aspect of human life was affected by this fusion. The style of dress, food habits and the etiquette of the Mughal court had great impact of this fusion.

Mughals advocated and seriously practiced religious tolerance. Babur, the first king of Mughal dynasty, advised his son Humayun to practice religious tolerance which reached at its peak during Akbar the great. Everybody was free to practice his or her own religion. This led to complete religious toleration. Due to the Mughals patronage to the religious toleration a new fusion of Hindu-Muslim culture started. Sufis and Bhaktas played an important role in preparing the ground for religious toleration, which was supported by the teachings of Nanak and Kabir.

The dress used by Akbar and his successors resembled more like Rajputs than the dress of contemporary Iran and Central Asia. Mughals marriages in the Rajput families, the permission to practice their own religion and customs in the Royal Harem strengthened the relations between the two.

The Mughals used to celebrate festivals with their courtiers, irrespective of their religious affiliations, like Nawruz, Ids, Dasehra and the emperor's birthday. Their contributions, especially in the field of literature, art, architecture, calligraphy and music are great. They patronaged artists, poets, calligraphists, musicians and men of letters. Mughals not only enriched the Indian culture but also left behind a legacy of civilised world. The Mughals contribution to culture of this region can never be forgotten.

With the advent of Central Asians as well as Iranians into India, a new religion, a new politics, a new code of etiquette, a new system of philosophy, a new tone of literature, a new formula of social structure, rather a new way of life was introduced. Hence, as a historical consequence, the impact of their languages and culture is evident in every walk of life. Culture means the state of being cultivated, for example, refinement in manners, taste and thought. Culture is a particular state or stage of advancement in civilization based upon unity of inner life and outer existence with the promotion of collective happiness as its objective.

During the Mughals, some of the achievements of Delhi Sultanate were carried forward and new and magnificent structures were built on those foundations.

Many new elements came in Indian society which influenced the growth of various aspects of culture. The growth of a composite culture reached at its peak under the royal patronage of the Mughal kings during 16th and 17th centuries.

The women of the haram did not usually take part in outdoor games both in view of parda (veil) and the physical effort included. A few women used to play chaugan (polo), and took part in the shikar (chase) of the birds. Persian Nur Jahan is presumably the solitary example among the harem ladies who shot lions and tigers. ishq-bazi (pigeon flying) or Kabooter-bazi, patang-bazi (kite flying), ankhmicholi (blind man's buff) were the basic leisure activities, which were absorbed from Persian culture. Mughal women additionally delighted in boating and horse riding. Yet, boxing, horse racing and wrestling and magic and acrobatics by men were observed distinctly from behind a curtain. Abul Fazl specifies that there were Persian wrestlers and fighters at Akbar's Court. The best wrestlers of the age included Mirza Khan of Gilan, Ali of Tabriz, Muhammad Quli of Tabriz (to whom Akbar gave the name Sher Hamla or lion assailant), Qasim of Tabriz, Faulad of Tabriz and Mirza Kuhina Sawar of Tabriz.[531]

The huqqah (hookah), in its present shape, began without a doubt in Persia and must have not come to India after the Persianizing impact under the Mughals. A sharp cone shaped vessel taking after the huqqah at Nishapur in Persia was

[531] Abul Fazl, *Ain-i-Akbari,* (Eng Tr.) H. Balochmann, Calcutta: Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1927., pp. 54-55, 263.

unearthed and is ascribed to ninth or tenth century A.D. These and similar vessels of a prior source show that the shape was acquired legitimately from Persian examples and kept on being utilized in the Mughal Court for a significant long time. With the expanding demand for glass in India, huqqah bases were provided from different quarters, primarily from Persia, Holland and Venice and even from England. In this manner the likely origin of the state of hookah and its dissemination in India was more likely because of the Persian impact at the Mughal Court.[532]

Another thing was the presentation of saraparda in Mughal social life. It was a kind of an enclosure in area around the tent, with which everyone in Sub-landmass is well-known by the name of Qanat, which was at first presented by the Persian honorable Bairam Khan. It is said that in 1576-77 A.D. at the point when Akbar was in Ajmer, sarapardas was initially propelled by the proposition of Bairam Khan for security reason. Initially, these sarapardas were made of rough fiber however later on Akbar improved the nature of fiber and requested the material of floor spreads to be utilized in them; as this improved the look and furthermore made them progressively agreeable.[533]

Noroz (Nauroz-I-Jalali) was simply a Persian celebration which began in India from the time of Salatin-e-Dehli, yet was come to at its pinnacle during Mughal system. The Noroz or Nauroz-I-Jalali (the New Year's Day) is additionally

[532] M.G Dikshit, (Dr.), *History of Indian Glass,* Bombay: University of Bombay, 1969., p.90.
[533] Sukumar Ray, (Prof.), *Bairam Khan,* Karachi: Institute of Central and West Asians Studies, University of Karachi, 1992., p.232.

called as the Nauroz-I-Sultani [534] , was commended with extraordinary excitement on the coronation day as a characteristic of association with the public activity of Persia as Akbar felt that the sentiments of Persian inhabitants in the Court had been wounded after the presentation of the Khutbah and the issue of the Mahdar during 1580-81 A.D. Noroz was basically a Court work, the investment of collection of harem women in this celebration was coincidental. The festival of Noroz was influenced from Persia and it was perhaps the best celebration in the Mughal capital. It denoted the approach of spring and was hung on twentieth or 21st March or first Farwardin, the primary month of the Persian year. The Mughals exceeded the Persians and commended it for eighteen or nineteen days, while the Persians celebrated it just for twelve.[535]

Once in 1582 A.D. at the Akbar's Court, the Persian celebration of Noroz was being celebrated, other than the elaboration of the standard forms of Court etiquettes like Cornish or Taslim, another type of deference to the Emperor Sijdah or Zaminbos (surrender) was presented. Balban in the thirteenth century A.D. had likewise executed this training as a mandate for his Court behaviors. Exceptions were, notwithstanding, made for the Syeds and later in the open Court too. Akbar, with his articulated Persian attitude towards sovereignty, even requested from his subjects the act prostration (sijda), as performed at the

[534] Khafi Khan, *Muntakhab-al-Lubab,* (Eng Tr.) S. Moinul Haq, Karachi: Pakistan Historical Society, 1975., p.84.
[535] K.S Lal, *The Mughal Harem,* New Dehli: Aditya Prakashan, 1988., p.136.

Courts of the old Kings of Persia, a training detested as blasphemous and pomposity to which subsequently Shah Jahan abolished.[536]

Aurangzeb annihilated the celebration of Noroz just in the beginning of his rule clearly on the ground of his religious susceptibilities. He substituted for it another majestic festivity which was to start in the period of Ramzan and continued up to Eid-ul-Fitr, and thus was called Nishat Afroz Jashn, that which uplifts the exhilaration of the banquet. In his Tuzuk, Jahangir makes reference to the festival of another Persian celebration, Aab-pashan or Gulab pasha (rose-water scattering). It was a spring celebration, wherein the individuals enjoyed with sprinkling rose-water over one another. This celebration was stunning as Aurangzeb was additionally used to commend it with full passion.[537] This was maybe an extra Persian Holi (a Hindu celebration wherein colors are used to spray on one another) that entertained the Emperor and his courtiers.

Persian celebrations like Khushroz/Mina-Bazaar (fancy bazaar) and numerous other minor functions had just entered the social activity of the Mughals since the entry of Persian women into the harem of mistresses. Akbar arranged this fair-cum-bazaar only for the women of the Mahal consistently for three days. Persian art was composite craftsmanship which was conceived for the royal fancy.[538] Of numerous expressions enriching components received by the

[536] Gavin Hambly, *Cities of Mughal India: Dehli, Agra and Fatehpur Sikri,* London: Paul Elek Productions, 1977., p.113.
[537] Mirza Maqbool Baig Badakhshani, (Ed.) Tarikh-i-Adabiyat: Musalmanan-i-Pakistan-o-Hind, (1526-1707 A.D) Punjab University, Vol.IV, Farsi Adab (II), Lahore: 1971., pp. 17-18.
[538] Clement Huart, *Ancient Persia and Iranian Civilization,* London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, Rpt., 1972., p.89.

Mughals for adorning the interior and exterior of their built structures; just to make reference to mosaic tile, fresco, pietra-dura, calligraphy and mirror work are basically of Persian origin or arrived in Sub-landmass through Persia.

More than everything else, it was in the field of arts that the Persian effect on Mughal India significantly marked. Regardless of whether the plan was brought about by the Persians or they executed the designs brought about by the Indian mind; the truth of the matter is indisputable that the Persians craftsmen added a decent contribution to the advancement of Indian art.[539] It stayed for the Mughals to convey forward and express the Persian traditions in their design, art, artistic creations and decorations to the more noteworthy statures and effectively adjust them for producing such momentous examples of architecture as the Taj Mahal, Itimad-ud-Doullah's tomb at Agra,Shish Mahal and Badshahi Mosque at Lahore.[540]

There was a remarkable flowering of the arts during the Safawid period and it was at its peak during the reign of Shah Abbas-I. Carpets and textiles of unparalleled richness of color and design; ceramic tiles of astonishing intricacy

[539] Nalinee M. Chapekar, *Ancient India and Iran: A Study of their Cultural Contacts,* Dehli: Ajanta Publications, 1982., p.68.
[540] Gulzar Muhammad Khan, *"Iranian influence of the Mosaic Tile Decoration: Lahore Fort,"* IRAN-PAKISTAN: A Common Culture, Articles Written By Twenty Six Pakistani Scholars, (Ed.) B.A Dar, Pak-Iran Persian Research
Centre, Lahore: 1974., p.463.

and beauty were produced, which decorated such masterpiece of Persian architecture in Persia.[541]

The art of calligraphy was cultivated by Muslims from the earliest times and was highly esteemed in the Muslim world. In the art of calligraphy, Persians with their keen sense of design developed it to the most sophisticated standards of rhythm, expressive form and precision. As in other fields of Islamic learning, Persia has played an important role in the development of the art of Muslim calligraphy.[542] The calligraphy reached in the regions of Indian Sub-continent via Persia. Calligraphic compositions of Persia constituted a distinctive characteristic of their art not only in the Far East but also ranked as a major elemental art in India and other Islamic World. The Persian calligrapher Mir Ali Tabrizi is credited to have introduced and devised rules for *Nastaliq* script, which got a lot of appreciation during the Mughal regime.[543] From thence, *Nastaliq* remained as a popular style of writing which evolved gradually. The art of calligraphy attained perfection in the sixteenth and

[541] Iskandar Beg Monshi, *"Very Dull and Arduous Reading: A Reappraisal of the History of Shah Abbas the Great"* Studies on the History of Safawids Iran, (Ed.) Roger M. Savory, Variorum Reprints, London: 1987., p.20.
[542] Hidayat-Ullah Siddiqui, *"Specimen of Iranian Calligraphy in the National Museum of Pakistan,"* IRAN-PAKISTAN: A Common Culture, Articles Written By Twenty Six Pakistani Scholars, (Ed.) B.A Dar, Pak-Iran Persian Research Centre, Lahore: 1974., p.535.
[543] Dr. Ihsan Ali, M.N Qazi and M. Zahir, *"Persian Influence of the Ancient Gandhara: Some Examples from Peshawer"*, Pakistan-Iran Relations in Historical Perspective, (Ed.) Dr. Syed Minhaj-ul-Hassan & Sayyed Abdolhossain Raeisossadat, Cultural Center of the Islamic Republic of Iran, Peshawer: March-2004., p.13.

seventeenth centuries A.D. and is commonly used for writing Persian books in Mughal India.[544]

The historical backdrop of Indian carpets started in Persia and assembling of Indian textiles was associated with Persia through business intercourse. Along these lines, Indian Muslims likewise got this workmanship from Persia, as even showed upon their Mosques and Jaaye-Namaz (floor coverings for supplication). Floor coverings from the Safawid time frame were viewed as the best ones according to the *Cambridge History of Iran*.[545] The highlights of the Persian carpets of the Safawid and Mughal periods which reached its peak in the sixteenth century A.D. were flowers, animals and ornamental designs. A progression of distinctively Indian designs were created, including grand and scenic carpets; and supplication prayer rugs with a noticeable focal flowering plant. Mughal floor carpets are thought to have been made in Lahore, Agra, and maybe Fatehpur Sikri.

Sultan Muhammad Bin Tughlaq (1325-51 A.D.) who is famous in the history of numismatics for his 'forced currency,' was perhaps the first who used Persian legends extensively on his coins to induce the people to accept the billion coins for gold value. The Mughal Emperors gave the coinage a sumptuous look; the series of gold and silver coins issued by them have been regarded as one of the most beautiful in the world. The credit for

[544] Francis Richard, *"An Unpublished Manuscript from the Atelier of the Emperor Humayun, the Khamsa Smith-Lesouef 216 of the Bibliotheque Nationale,"* Confluence of Cultures: French Contributions to Indo-Persian Studies, Centre of Human Sciences, New Dehli, (Ed.) Francoise Nalini Delvoye, Manohar Publishers, New Delhi: Rpt., 1995., p.40.
[545] *The Cambridge History of Iran, Vol.VI,* London: Cambridge University Press, 1986., p.698.

introducing the exquisite *Nastaliq* on their coins also goes to the Mughal Emperors. Above all, they introduced the innovation of Persian couplets on the coins. A regular series of mints was established throughout in the Mughal Empire. A comparison of these coins with those of Persia reveals the deep-rooted influence of Persian culture, partly attributable to the great influx of Persians which took place during the period.[546]

Akbar reformed Mughal currency to make it one of the best known of its time. All monetary exchanges were, however, expressed in copper coins in Akbar's time. Akbar's aim was to establish a uniform coinage throughout his Empire; some coins of the old regime and regional kingdoms also continued. In the seventeenth century A.D. the influx of silver rupee with new fractional denominations replaced the copper coin as a common medium of circulation. The famous coins of Jahangir's reign, *Nurjahani* (gold) and *Jahangiri* (silver) were paired from the very beginning as coins of equal weight if not of value.[547] The most significant aspect of the Persian Mughal Empress Nur Jahan's minting was its zodiacal design along with the use of the *Khutba* and the issuing of *Farmans* (Royal Orders), which was the supreme symbol of sovereignty for a Mughal ruler.65 In this way the important section of Mughal numismatics was also influenced to a great extent by the Persians as well.[548]

[546] Mumtaz Hasan, Op. Cit. pp. xxxi-xxxii.
[547] Ellison Banks Findly, *Nur Jahan: Empress of Mughal India,* New York: Oxford University Press, 1993., p.40.
[548] Ibid. p.221.

In Persia the art of book binding reached its zenith during the Timurid period, and its surviving specimens are among the finest ever produced. Similarly, during the sixteenth century A.D. under the Safawid dynasty, bookcovers were medallions and other compartments consisting of stamped and gilded arabesques interlaced with delicate floral scrolls and Chinese cloud bands. This tradition was brought to the Sub-continent, and under the patronage of the Mughal Courts, achieved distinctive forms and styles. During the Mughal regime the books prepared for the royal libraries had a special binding, not only for protection, but also to provide an exterior worthy of the contents. The covers of the bindings had decorations on the exterior of the cover as well as on its interior.[549] Accordingly, Persians also played a significant role in Mughal India for the improvisation of this important segment of books safeguarding with perfection and estheticism.

Yunani (Greek) medicine made its way into the Mughal world from Central Asia just as Greek astronomy did, although less directly, through Persia. "The tradition of the eleventh century (A.D.) Central Asian physician and philosopher Ibn-i-Sina (Avicenna) took firm root in Iran through subsequent centuries, especially in Shiraz. Most of the important physicians in Mughal employ were from Shiraz or from northern Iran,"[550] but one notable exception is Khawaja Khawind Mahmud of Samarqand, who had learned medicine at Shiraz, before coming to join Babur's Court at Agra. A number of the

[549] Mumtaz Hasan, Op. Cit. p.xxxi.
[550] Richards C. Foltz, *Mughal India and Central Asia,* Karachi: Oxford University Press, 1998., p.84.

descendants of Khwaja Khawind's brother Khwaja Yusuf were noted practitioners of *yunani* medicine in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries A.D.[551]

Music in the Indian Sub-continent is a reflection of the diverse elements; racial, linguistic and cultural, that makes up the heterogeneous population of the region. The present Indian music is distinctly the outcome of a fusion of Indo-Arabic-Persian forms of music based on Indian principles and systems with a mixture of Turkish, Persian and Arab tunes.[552]

The Indo-Muslim repertoire of religious songs, called *Qawwali*, is said to have begun with Amir Khusrau. This repertoire includes songs in praise of Allah (God), and of the Prophet Muhammad (S.A.W.) and his descendants. It also includes songs in praise of the patron saint of the singer. Hindu *Bhajans* have the same spirit and mode like *Qawwalis*. *Ghazals* are another form of song that is derived from Persian and Hindi based Urdu poetic form which is composed of independent couplets. There is essentially underlying, love or erotic poetry (*majazi shayeri*); however, are the themes of the *Sufi* mystics, or (*haqiqi shayeri*) for whom God is the beloved. The verses of the *Ghazals* are open to a number of different interpretations; secular, mystical and sometimes social, and philosophical as well. The *ghazal* form has achieved a great deal of popularity

[551] H.A Hameed, *Exchange Between India and Central Asia in the Field of Medicine,* New Dehli: 1986., p.85.
[552] S.M Jaffar, *Some Cultural Aspects of Muslim Rule in India,* Peshawar: S. Muhammad Sadiq Khan Publisher, 1950., p.171.

in the Indian Sub-continent from medieval times; and a special meeting, called *musha'Ara*, are held expressly to enable poets to sing or recite their poem .[553]

In Indo-Persian context, the term *surod* seems to cover a wide range of music; vocal and instrumental and also dance, which makes it a rather close equivalent of the word *sangita* in Sanskrit. Medieval Arabic and Persian literature indicates the importance of music in the prerequisite knowledge imparted to respect rulers, hence aristocratic patronage to musicians was observed in Persia and India as well.[554]

The painting is rooted in new artistic form introduced in Indian Subcontinent, primarily from Persia in the wake of the Muslim invasion. Mughal painting was essentially a Court art; it developed under the patronage of the ruling Mughal Emperors and began to decline when the rulers lost their interest in this regard. The subjects treated were generally secular, consisting of illustrations to historical works and Persian and Indian literature, portraits of the Emperor and his Court, studies of natural life, and genre scenes. The history of Indian painting from the thirteenth to the eighteenth century A.D. is filled with many riches and provides only the faintest indications of its wealth.[555]

The art of painting owed much to Mughal patronage in India. The Mughal Emperors saved it from decay, and through their liberality it attained to a high

[553] A.L Basham, *A Cultural History of India,* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1975., p.238.
[554] Francoise Nalini Delvoye, *"Indo-Persian Literature on Art-Music: Some Historical and Technical Aspects,"* Confluence of Cultures: French Contributions to Indo-Persian Studies, Centre of Human Sciences, (Ed.) Francoise Nalini Delvoye, Manohar Publishers, New Dehli: Rpt., 1995., pp.93-94.
[555] A.L Basham, Op. Cit. p.333.

level of excellence. Mughal paintings were essentially Persian in origin.[556] Mughal miniature paintings are the most realistic in account and form a very important source also for the study of the Mughal Harem. These paintings helped a lot in unveiling the secrets of the behind curtains history of the Mughal Harem. The Mughal School of painting which owed so much to Persia blossomed under Akbar's liberal patronage. Though retaining the upright format, general setting, and flat aerial perspective of Persian painting, the Indian artists of Akbar's Court exhibited an increased naturalism and detailed observation of the world around them.

Mughal art developed the ancient Indian art under the new impulses of Persian and Central Asian styles. Due to rather foremost influence of Persian art, the Indian art during the Mughal regime may be rightly called as 'Indo-Persian art'. In Mughal paintings, the clarity of out-line, the emptiness of spaces, the devotion to details like the ornaments and drapery the picturesque scenery, the graceful pose are all Indian versions of the Persian art.[557] Under the vigorous patronage of Akbar, the Indo-Mughal style in painting art, distinct a little bit from the purely Persian style, emerged and flourished. Persian artists and men of learning continued to arrive.[558]

The demand for illuminated copies of Persian texts, however, began to diminish under Jahangir and Shah Jahan, both of whom preferred luxurious

[556] S.M Ikram, *History of Muslim Civilization in India and Pakistan,* Lahore: Institute of Islamic Culture, 2000., p.669.
[557] Tara Chand, *Influence of Islam on Indian Culture,* Allahabad: The Indian Press, 1936., p.273.
[558] Riaz-ul Islam, *Indo-Persian Relations,* Lahore: Iranian Culture Foundation, 1970., p.168.

albums of independent paintings and calligraphies. Illustrated Persian classics, to be sure, were produced, but they were fewer in number and not always very successful."[559] Under Shah Jahan who himself was a good painter and a master in the art of illuminating books, miniature and portrait painting underwent a great deal of elaboration. His eldest son, Dara Shikoh, was also a great patron of painting.

Aurangzeb's era saw the decline of Persian influence in India. Aurangzeb, the ultra-orthodox Muslim, could not be very fond of painting, but he did not forbid it, and the number of paintings produced during his reign does not seem to have been smaller than in the previous reign. Aurangzeb remained indulged in responding to various oppositions and uprisings throughout in his reign causing paucity in patronage of arts.

Mughal paintings were essentially a careful nurtured Court art, and its removal from the natural habitat led to its impoverishment and debasement. Therefore, a fairly large number of paintings assigned to his reign were probably executed for patrons other than the Emperor. There was a brief revival took place during the reign of his successor, Muhammad Shah 1719-48 A.D. but the rapid disintegration of the Mughal Empire sealed the fate of the arts which were intimately associated with it.[560] The impact of this Mughal influence was also noticeable on the Rajasthani art of painting and the paintings of the 16th and

[559] Ibid. p.108.
[560] A.L Basham, Op. Cit. p.330.

the 17th centuries of Rajasthan betrays a close knowledge of Mughal art of painting within the broader Rajasthani frame-work.

Architecture

Mughal period was the period of glory in the field of architecture. They also laid out many formal gardens with running water. In fact, use of running water even in their palaces and pleasure resorts was a special feature of the Mughals.

Babur:

Babur was very fond of gardens and laid out a few in the neighbourhood of Agra and Lahore. Some of the Mughal gardens, such as the Nishal Bagh in Kashmir, the Shalimar at Lahore, the Pinjore garden in the Punjab foothills, etc., have survived to this day.

A new impetus to architecture was given by Sher Shah. His famour mausoleum at Sasaram (Bihar) and his mosque in the old fort at Delhi are considered architectural marvels. They form the climax of the pre-Mughal style of architecture, and the starting point for the new.

Akbar:

Akbar was the first Mughal ruler who had the time and means to undertake construction on a large scale. He built a series of forts, the most famous of which is the fort at Agra. Built in red sandstone, this massive fort had many magnificent gates. The climax of fort building was reached at Delhi where Shah Jahan built his famous Red Fort.

In 1572, Akbar commenced a paiace-cum-fort complex at Fatehpur Sikri, 36 kilometres from Agra, which he completed in eight years. Built atop a hill, along with a large artificial lake, it included many buildings in the style of Gujarat and Bengal. These included deep caves, balconies, and fanciful kiosks.

In the Panch Mahal built for taking the air, all the types of pillars used in various temples were employed to support flat roofs. The Gujarat style of architecture is used most widely in the palace built probably for his Rajput wife or wives. Buildings of a similar type were also built in the fort at Agra, though only a few of them have survived. Akbar took a close personal interest in the work of construction both at Agra and Fatehpur Sikri.

Persian or Central Asian influence can be seen in the glazed blue tiles used for decoration in the walls or for tiling the roofs. But the most magnificent building was the mosque and the gateway to it called the Buland Darwaza or the Lofty Gate, built to commemorate Akbar's victory in Gujarat. The gate is in the style of what is called a half-dome portal.

What was done was to slice a dome into half. The sliced portion provided the massive outward faade of the gate, while smaller doors could be floor meet. This devise, borrowed from Iran, became feature in Mughal buildings later.

Jahangir:

With the consolidation of the empire, the Mughal architecture reached its climax. Towards the end of Jahangir's reign began the practice of putting up building entirely of marble and decorating the walls with floral designs made of

semi-precious stones. This method of decoration, called pietra dura, became even more popular under Shah Jahan who used it on a large scale in the Taj Mahal, justly regarded as a jewel of the builder art.

Shah Jahan:

The Taj Mahal brought together in a pleasing manner all the architectural forms developed by the Mughals. Humayun's tomb built at Delhi towards the beginning of Akbar's reign, and which had a massive dome of marbles, may be considered a precursor of the Taj. The double dome was another feature of this building.

This devise enabled a bigger dome to be built with a smaller one inside. The chief glory of the Taj is the massive dome and the four slender minarets linking the platform to the main building. The decorations are kept to a minimum, delicate marble screens, pietra dura inlay work and kiosks (chhatris) adding to the effect. The building gains by being placed in the midst of a formal garden.

Mosque-building also reached its climax under Shah Jahan, the two most noteworthy ones being the Moti Masjid in the Agra fort built like the Taj entirely in marble, and the other the Jama Masjid in the Agra fort built like the Taj entirely in marble, and the other the Jama Masjid at Delhi built in red sandstone. A lofty gate, tall, slender minarets, and a series of domes are a feature of the Jama Masjid.

Aurangzeb:

Although not many buildings were put up by Aurangzeb who was economic-minded, the Mughal architectural traditions based on a combination of Hindu and Turko-lranian forms and decorative designs, continued without a break into the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.

Thus, Mughal traditions influenced the palaces and forts of many provincial and local kingdoms. Even the Harmandir of the Sikhs, called the Golden Temple at Amritsar which was rebuilt several times during the period was built on the arch and dome principle incorporated many features of the Mughal traditions of architecture.

CHAPTER 7

Conclusion

Tracing back, the cultural history of Persia and India it was observed that Persia had played a predominant role in Indian history. Afghanistan which was between India and Persia served as the meeting ground for the two societies where the deliberations between India and Persia were carried on. The Muslims of the Indian sub-continent were attracted to India because of their love for Islam in their developments and policies, but the Persians looked for their pre-Islamic history. Earlier before the foundation of Pakistan, Muslims of the sub-continent were known by just one name and that was '*Muslims'*. If for some reason it was required to distinguish from the Muslims of different lands, they most often utilized the term '*Indian Muslims'* which was considered to be quite normal. These attitudes are the aftereffect of historical causes, which have been dynamic over significant periods of time in different forms

A concrete factor has been a constant feeling of insecurity. Certainly, Indian Muslims took a lot of interest in the Persian culture but they did not adopt Persian ideas. They acclimatized them as a whole in every division of the state and in each part of their living. Politically, they received the standards of Persian government, the division and association of the different departments of the state, including their names, the personality of the Persian ruler, his slaves, his seraglio, his servants; State ceremonials and every other image of sovereignty, including his dress; the guidelines of military association, the

strategies of war and even the titles and assignments of the position and in certainty detail of administration were adopted in India. Of all, the most significant and critical was the theory of Divine Right, the most distinct element of Persian government, which might be alluded as Persian ruler being their ruler and ace, supreme disposer of their lives, freedoms and property; the sole establishment of law and right, inadequate himself of wrongdoing, irresistible, irresponsible, a kind of god upon earth. In this manner, the Muslim King in India was called as *Zill-i-illahi* or the 'shadow of God' on earth and heavenly distinctions were paid to him.

Socio-culturally, Indians absorbed the thoughts of the Persians about social pleasures and leisure activities and obtained from them chess, chase and *chaugan* (polo), music, drinking and melodies along with the spring celebration of *Nauroz*. They likewise made Persian as their Court language and took over practically all Persian ideas, and for all intents and purposes utilized them at any place they could be used.

Since the foundation of the Mughal Empire, countless men of sword and pen, people of quality and learning, excellence, men of letters, artists and scholars, talented craftsmen and famous people from the urban communities of Persia wanted to be a part of this Empire with higher expectations. They entered with the administration of the kingdom, which was a kind of haven for the people of the world. Persians were accounted for high extent of work force in all parts of administration in the Mughal Empire. With their diverse capacities, they could deal with various assignments, innovative interests and professions effortlessly.

Numerous Persian families appended to the Mughal Court and showed their abilities in different forms and fields. With their diverse abilities, they outshone and surpassed their peers in the spheres of authoritative and political organization, aesthetic bequests and literati activities.

Military and Administration

Persian intellectual elite assumed an imperative job in the foundation of the Mughal Empire. The custom of migration from Muslim lands never ended; and many recognized groups of soldiers and administrators during the Mughal rule hailed from Persia. Actually, the respectability of Babur and Humayun demonstrated that the Mughal ruling class was a long way from comprising a disciplined and viable association to adapt to the intricate issues of a newly settled Empire in India. The endeavors made by Babur and Humayun to realize a few changes in its creation, to improve its working and making it steadfast and subservient to the Mughal royalty were not completely successful. The most obvious reason appeared to be the nearness of a powerful clan and family groups of nobles with their underlying foundations in Central Asian customs or cases of high descent.

During Akbar's rule when the Mughal Empire was consolidated, migration of nobles and commanders just as men of letters from Persia profoundly shaped the civilizations of Indo-Muslims. Actually, Akbar's huge Persian nobility raised his rule with Persian ideas and effect. Akbar elevated Persian nobles to high positions as a reward for their dedication when he confronted difficulties

to his plans on account of the unreasonable ambitions of the Central Asian Chaghtais. Among 44 Persian workers during his rule, Asaf Khan, Mirza Ghiyas-ud-Din, Mir Abdur Razzaq Esfahani, Jafar Khan, Asad Beg Qazwini, Mahabat Khan, Ibrahim Khan Fateh Jang, Baqir Khan Najm-I-Sani and Hakim Hamam were of importance that performed essential duties in administration and politics.

During the regimes of Jahangir and Shah Jahan, Persians are found to have enhanced their position in number and mansabs. Jahangir's Court, especially affected by his imperious partner, Nur Jahan liberally belittled Persians and gave particular focus to them in honorability, Persian Court components ruled more than before. The Persians' control in his epoch was so consistently upgraded in every single fragment of Mughal governmental administration and politics that it is worthy of seeing that whole of Jahangir's significant officials were Persians including six of his *diwans*, three of his *wakils*, all his *mir-samans* and *mir-bakhshis*. During Jahangir's rule about 39 Persian migrants moved towards India and embedded Mughal administration in them. Among them Ahmad Razi, Saif Khan Mirza Safi, Azam Khan, Islam Khan Mashhadi, Yahya Qomi, Mir Muhammad Sharif, Qazi Zada Kashani and Qazi Najm-ud-Din Shushtari were of key significance.

Aurangzeb's sovereignty was a time of numerous domestic issues in perspective on his encounter with Maratha power and various uprisings. In his regime, Persians were still in predominant position in Mughal nobility like the past Mughal eons in India. 27 Persian fortune searchers arrived during his reign

in India. Among these migrants, Shaikh Mir Khwafi, Muhammad Tahir, Khalilullah Khan, Hakim Daud Taqarrub Khan and Mulla Shafiq Yazdi were important. The Persians kept up their position in Mughal governmental issues of administration and politics in light of the inundation of Persians serving in the Deccan Kingdoms.

Religious role of Persians

Toleration in true feeling of the term had been the sheet-grapple of Muslim regime in India, and the Indian rulers never meddled with their religion. The relations between Ithna Asharis (Twelvers) and the Sunnis on the other hand were not amicable in political issues. The Mughal Empire was significantly more liberal and realistic in religious undertakings than the contemporary Uzbek and Ottoman Empires. Whenever Ottoman Empire and Persia were at ornery, the Mughal Empire kept up progressive relations with the Safawids, and their political contention was not hued by partisan emotions. Muslims of the Sub-continent were progressively tolerant of the differences. It must be underlined that despite the fact that the Mughal Emperors were Sunnis, they generally invited Persian Ithna Ashari immigrants. There was hence a contention between Persian (Ithna Ashari) and Central Asian (Sunni) respectability.

During Mughal rule, the Persian religious effect on the development of Sufi conventions in India was of great importance. The Persians in an incredible or little way serving the Mughal Empire found significance in skill and devotion

and constantly went after for their overweening want to commend their country in perspective on the difference of country and faith. The political relations among Persia and the Deccan kingdoms and the recitation of the Shah's name in the *khutba* in Golcanda were exceptionally disturbing and baffling to the Mughals. Akbar with his articulated Persian disposition towards kingship even demanded from his squires the demonstration of prostration (Sijda) as performed at the courts of the old rulers of Persia.

Aurangzeb Alamgir had gained the throne as the declared hero of orthodoxy. He was a staunch Sunni and it is said that he didn't care for the doctrine of Ithna Ashariyah, yet he never rivulet any injustice towards officials of the Ithna Ashari. It has additionally been said that in the War of Succession, Aurangzeb revitalized the Sunnis against the Ithna Asharis; which is not true, on the grounds that he had more noteworthy help of Persian nobility than all his adversary siblings. During his rule, the situation of the Persians was not influenced by the Sunni orthodoxy of the Emperor.

Role in Language and Literature

The Mughal dynasty was an expansion of the Timurid line which ruled India from 1526 to 1857 A.D. and was so completely Persianized that the corpus of Persian writing delivered in India endlessly exceeds that from Persia. Under the Mughal rule, Persian language and writing prospered and advanced higher than ever. Writing of history received motivation and was invigorated by the impact of Persian language giving this a new dimension. Persian was embraced as

official State language by the Mughals and most likely the primary purpose behind that was it historically belonged to the Perso-Turkish culture of Central Asia, beforehand to which Mughals were very well acclimated.

The arrival of Babur to India was the point at which the impact of Hindi over Persian was particularly starting to be felt. Humayun, was very much pleased by Persian culture and was intensely versed in Persian writing. His stay at the Persian Court was a beneficial development. He welcomed numerous Persian scholarly men including artists and prose writers to India as 29 literati came during his period. In spite of the fact that, the Persians were progressively popular as *ahl-I-qalam* (men of pen) as opposed to as *ahl-I-saif* (men of sword), they had figured out how to save for themselves a unique status in the positions of the nobility and just as in literary circles of Mughal India. From Babur's time down to Aurangzeb's, there is a impressive line of artists who unrelenting relocated to India from different conurbations of Persia, Samarqand, Bukhara, Turkistan and Herat, being attracted by the compassion of the Mughal and the Deccan Courts. Along with them the Persian poetry step by step moved to India. Their activities joined with those of the native writers in the field of Persian prose and poetry equivalent and in specific stages exceed expectations those of the Persians themselves, and for this the Mughal time frame in India stands well-known in the history of literature.

Role in culture, arts and society

The cultural connections among Persia and Sub-continent are deeply established. These cultural impacts are clearly detectable in the form of important objects, for example, design and architecture, carpets, miniatures, coinage, book binding, calligraphy, pottery and jewelry. The Indo-Persian business and cultural relations were the sub-structure where upon the super-structure of political relations between the two nations improved. In fact, Islam in India took on a particular culture which might be called Indo-Persian Culture. Mughals likewise set a remarkable example of generous support to the skilled scholars and craftsmen that were trailed by numerous extraordinary authorities in raising and remunerating the talent. Persia contributed a decent arrangement to the Indo-Muslim cultural heritage whose share among the Persian migrants was substantial.

Persia's cultural range of influence, which might be called *'Greater Persia*,' is and has time after time been far more well-known in area and significance than the political limits of Persia. Persian painters, architects, craftsmen, calligraphists, and individuals with other diverse abilities have achieved what kings and commanders couldn't conquer. The constant exchange of thoughts, specialized skills, and creativity between Safawid Persia and Mughal India is most plainly found in the sphere of expressive arts. Mughal paintings of art are a great case of Perso-Mughal artistic cooperation and cultural merger with India. In the field of arts Persian impact in Mughal India was significantly found.

With the migration to the Mughals in the Sub-continent, an appealing union of Persian and indigenous components was continuously changed into a unique Indo-Persian style prominently known as the '*Mughal School of Architecture*.' Mughal architecture was immensely impacted by Persian thoughts and architects.

The plentiful cultural materials beside various historical chronicles of Mughal India stand evidence of close social, political and cultural contacts with Persia. These structures help in remembering the lasting impacts of Persian art and culture on the cultural inheritance of Indo-Pak Sub-continent. The Mughal leaders of India kept close ties with Persia and there was a flood of craftsmen and scholars coming over the border to look for fortune and fame at the splendid Court of the Great Mughals. The greater part of the Persians possessed capable individuals who exceeded expectations in a few arts including radiant administrative characteristics and had mastery in different sciences. Moreover, they were brave and courageous men who determinedly migrated to Mughal India and were loyal to their masters expect when the interest of the Indian Empire clashed with that of Persia, the place of their ancestors.

The social position and the cultural authority of the Persians in India was remarkable. Persians formed the elite class of the Muslim society and were the life and light of the community of Muslim people. The Persians belonged to a nation which was the seat of learning, culture, manners, fashion and they were regarded as the bosses of social propriety in the whole of Asia. Persia was obviously the only channel for any cultural impact that came to India. Mughals

had no partiality to import Persian traditions in the feasts of their own, and to share of the gaiety and delight of the Persian celebrations like *Aab-pashan, Noroz and Minabazar* or *Khushroz*. Among numerous people and races that have interacted with and impacted India's life and culture, the most experienced and strong-minded have been the Persians.

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“MIGRATION OF PERSIANS TO INDIA DURING MUGHAL TIMES (1526-1707)”

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CHAPTER 7

Conclusion

Tracing back, the cultural history of Persia and India it was observed that Persia had played a predominant role in Indian history. Afghanistan which was between India and Persia served as the meeting ground for the two societies where the deliberations between India and Persia were carried on. The Muslims of the Indian sub-continent were attracted to India because of their love for Islam in their developments and policies, but the Persians looked for their pre-Islamic history. Earlier before the foundation of Pakistan, Muslims of the sub-continent were known by just one name and that was '*Muslims'*. If for some reason it was required to distinguish from the Muslims of different lands, they most often utilized the term '*Indian Muslims'* which was considered to be quite normal. These attitudes are the aftereffect of historical causes, which have been dynamic over significant periods of time in different forms

A concrete factor has been a constant feeling of insecurity. Certainly, Indian Muslims took a lot of interest in the Persian culture but they did not adopt Persian ideas. They acclimatized them as a whole in every division of the state and in each part of their living. Politically, they received the standards of Persian government, the division and association of the different departments of the state, including their names, the personality of the Persian ruler, his slaves, his seraglio, his servants; State ceremonials and every other image of sovereignty, including his dress; the guidelines of military association, the

strategies of war and even the titles and assignments of the position and in certainty detail of administration were adopted in India. Of all, the most significant and critical was the theory of Divine Right, the most distinct element of Persian government, which might be alluded as Persian ruler being their ruler and ace, supreme disposer of their lives, freedoms and property; the sole establishment of law and right, inadequate himself of wrongdoing, irresistible, irresponsible, a kind of god upon earth. In this manner, the Muslim King in India was called as *Zill-i-illahi* or the 'shadow of God' on earth and heavenly distinctions were paid to him.

Socio-culturally, Indians absorbed the thoughts of the Persians about social pleasures and leisure activities and obtained from them chess, chase and *chaugan* (polo), music, drinking and melodies along with the spring celebration of *Nauroz*. They likewise made Persian as their Court language and took over practically all Persian ideas, and for all intents and purposes utilized them at any place they could be used.

Since the foundation of the Mughal Empire, countless men of sword and pen, people of quality and learning, excellence, men of letters, artists and scholars, talented craftsmen and famous people from the urban communities of Persia wanted to be a part of this Empire with higher expectations. They entered with the administration of the kingdom, which was a kind of haven for the people of the world. Persians were accounted for high extent of work force in all parts of administration in the Mughal Empire. With their diverse capacities, they could deal with various assignments, innovative interests and professions effortlessly.

Numerous Persian families appended to the Mughal Court and showed their abilities in different forms and fields. With their diverse abilities, they outshone and surpassed their peers in the spheres of authoritative and political organization, aesthetic bequests and literati activities.

Military and Administration

Persian intellectual elite assumed an imperative job in the foundation of the Mughal Empire. The custom of migration from Muslim lands never ended; and many recognized groups of soldiers and administrators during the Mughal rule hailed from Persia. Actually, the respectability of Babur and Humayun demonstrated that the Mughal ruling class was a long way from comprising a disciplined and viable association to adapt to the intricate issues of a newly settled Empire in India. The endeavors made by Babur and Humayun to realize a few changes in its creation, to improve its working and making it steadfast and subservient to the Mughal royalty were not completely successful. The most obvious reason appeared to be the nearness of a powerful clan and family groups of nobles with their underlying foundations in Central Asian customs or cases of high descent.

During Akbar's rule when the Mughal Empire was consolidated, migration of nobles and commanders just as men of letters from Persia profoundly shaped the civilizations of Indo-Muslims. Actually, Akbar's huge Persian nobility raised his rule with Persian ideas and effect. Akbar elevated Persian nobles to high positions as a reward for their dedication when he confronted difficulties

to his plans on account of the unreasonable ambitions of the Central Asian Chaghtais. Among 44 Persian workers during his rule, Asaf Khan, Mirza Ghiyas-ud-Din, Mir Abdur Razzaq Esfahani, Jafar Khan, Asad Beg Qazwini, Mahabat Khan, Ibrahim Khan Fateh Jang, Baqir Khan Najm-I-Sani and Hakim Hamam were of importance that performed essential duties in administration and politics.

During the regimes of Jahangir and Shah Jahan, Persians are found to have enhanced their position in number and mansabs. Jahangir's Court, especially affected by his imperious partner, Nur Jahan liberally belittled Persians and gave particular focus to them in honorability, Persian Court components ruled more than before. The Persians' control in his epoch was so consistently upgraded in every single fragment of Mughal governmental administration and politics that it is worthy of seeing that whole of Jahangir's significant officials were Persians including six of his *diwans*, three of his *wakils*, all his *mir-samans* and *mir-bakhshis*. During Jahangir's rule about 39 Persian migrants moved towards India and embedded Mughal administration in them. Among them Ahmad Razi, Saif Khan Mirza Safi, Azam Khan, Islam Khan Mashhadi, Yahya Qomi, Mir Muhammad Sharif, Qazi Zada Kashani and Qazi Najm-ud-Din Shushtari were of key significance.

Aurangzeb's sovereignty was a time of numerous domestic issues in perspective on his encounter with Maratha power and various uprisings. In his regime, Persians were still in predominant position in Mughal nobility like the past Mughal eons in India. 27 Persian fortune searchers arrived during his reign

in India. Among these migrants, Shaikh Mir Khwafi, Muhammad Tahir, Khalilullah Khan, Hakim Daud Taqarrub Khan and Mulla Shafiq Yazdi were important. The Persians kept up their position in Mughal governmental issues of administration and politics in light of the inundation of Persians serving in the Deccan Kingdoms.

Religious role of Persians

Toleration in true feeling of the term had been the sheet-grapple of Muslim regime in India, and the Indian rulers never meddled with their religion. The relations between Ithna Asharis (Twelvers) and the Sunnis on the other hand were not amicable in political issues. The Mughal Empire was significantly more liberal and realistic in religious undertakings than the contemporary Uzbek and Ottoman Empires. Whenever Ottoman Empire and Persia were at ornery, the Mughal Empire kept up progressive relations with the Safawids, and their political contention was not hued by partisan emotions. Muslims of the Sub-continent were progressively tolerant of the differences. It must be underlined that despite the fact that the Mughal Emperors were Sunnis, they generally invited Persian Ithna Ashari immigrants. There was hence a contention between Persian (Ithna Ashari) and Central Asian (Sunni) respectability.

During Mughal rule, the Persian religious effect on the development of Sufi conventions in India was of great importance. The Persians in an incredible or little way serving the Mughal Empire found significance in skill and devotion

and constantly went after for their overweening want to commend their country in perspective on the difference of country and faith. The political relations among Persia and the Deccan kingdoms and the recitation of the Shah's name in the *khutba* in Golcanda were exceptionally disturbing and baffling to the Mughals. Akbar with his articulated Persian disposition towards kingship even demanded from his squires the demonstration of prostration (Sijda) as performed at the courts of the old rulers of Persia.

Aurangzeb Alamgir had gained the throne as the declared hero of orthodoxy. He was a staunch Sunni and it is said that he didn't care for the doctrine of Ithna Ashariyah, yet he never rivulet any injustice towards officials of the Ithna Ashari. It has additionally been said that in the War of Succession, Aurangzeb revitalized the Sunnis against the Ithna Asharis; which is not true, on the grounds that he had more noteworthy help of Persian nobility than all his adversary siblings. During his rule, the situation of the Persians was not influenced by the Sunni orthodoxy of the Emperor.

Role in Language and Literature

The Mughal dynasty was an expansion of the Timurid line which ruled India from 1526 to 1857 A.D. and was so completely Persianized that the corpus of Persian writing delivered in India endlessly exceeds that from Persia. Under the Mughal rule, Persian language and writing prospered and advanced higher than ever. Writing of history received motivation and was invigorated by the impact of Persian language giving this a new dimension. Persian was embraced as

official State language by the Mughals and most likely the primary purpose behind that was it historically belonged to the Perso-Turkish culture of Central Asia, beforehand to which Mughals were very well acclimated.

The arrival of Babur to India was the point at which the impact of Hindi over Persian was particularly starting to be felt. Humayun, was very much pleased by Persian culture and was intensely versed in Persian writing. His stay at the Persian Court was a beneficial development. He welcomed numerous Persian scholarly men including artists and prose writers to India as 29 literati came during his period. In spite of the fact that, the Persians were progressively popular as *ahl-I-qalam* (men of pen) as opposed to as *ahl-I-saif* (men of sword), they had figured out how to save for themselves a unique status in the positions of the nobility and just as in literary circles of Mughal India. From Babur's time down to Aurangzeb's, there is a impressive line of artists who unrelenting relocated to India from different conurbations of Persia, Samarqand, Bukhara, Turkistan and Herat, being attracted by the compassion of the Mughal and the Deccan Courts. Along with them the Persian poetry step by step moved to India. Their activities joined with those of the native writers in the field of Persian prose and poetry equivalent and in specific stages exceed expectations those of the Persians themselves, and for this the Mughal time frame in India stands well-known in the history of literature.

Role in culture, arts and society

The cultural connections among Persia and Sub-continent are deeply established. These cultural impacts are clearly detectable in the form of important objects, for example, design and architecture, carpets, miniatures, coinage, book binding, calligraphy, pottery and jewelry. The Indo-Persian business and cultural relations were the sub-structure where upon the super-structure of political relations between the two nations improved. In fact, Islam in India took on a particular culture which might be called Indo-Persian Culture. Mughals likewise set a remarkable example of generous support to the skilled scholars and craftsmen that were trailed by numerous extraordinary authorities in raising and remunerating the talent. Persia contributed a decent arrangement to the Indo-Muslim cultural heritage whose share among the Persian migrants was substantial.

Persia's cultural range of influence, which might be called *'Greater Persia*,' is and has time after time been far more well-known in area and significance than the political limits of Persia. Persian painters, architects, craftsmen, calligraphists, and individuals with other diverse abilities have achieved what kings and commanders couldn't conquer. The constant exchange of thoughts, specialized skills, and creativity between Safawid Persia and Mughal India is most plainly found in the sphere of expressive arts. Mughal paintings of art are a great case of Perso-Mughal artistic cooperation and cultural merger with India. In the field of arts Persian impact in Mughal India was significantly found.

With the migration to the Mughals in the Sub-continent, an appealing union of Persian and indigenous components was continuously changed into a unique Indo-Persian style prominently known as the '*Mughal School of Architecture*.' Mughal architecture was immensely impacted by Persian thoughts and architects.

The plentiful cultural materials beside various historical chronicles of Mughal India stand evidence of close social, political and cultural contacts with Persia. These structures help in remembering the lasting impacts of Persian art and culture on the cultural inheritance of Indo-Pak Sub-continent. The Mughal leaders of India kept close ties with Persia and there was a flood of craftsmen and scholars coming over the border to look for fortune and fame at the splendid Court of the Great Mughals. The greater part of the Persians possessed capable individuals who exceeded expectations in a few arts including radiant administrative characteristics and had mastery in different sciences. Moreover, they were brave and courageous men who determinedly migrated to Mughal India and were loyal to their masters expect when the interest of the Indian Empire clashed with that of Persia, the place of their ancestors.

The social position and the cultural authority of the Persians in India was remarkable. Persians formed the elite class of the Muslim society and were the life and light of the community of Muslim people. The Persians belonged to a nation which was the seat of learning, culture, manners, fashion and they were regarded as the bosses of social propriety in the whole of Asia. Persia was obviously the only channel for any cultural impact that came to India. Mughals

had no partiality to import Persian traditions in the feasts of their own, and to share of the gaiety and delight of the Persian celebrations like *Aab-pashan, Noroz and Minabazar* or *Khushroz*. Among numerous people and races that have interacted with and impacted India's life and culture, the most experienced and strong-minded have been the Persians.